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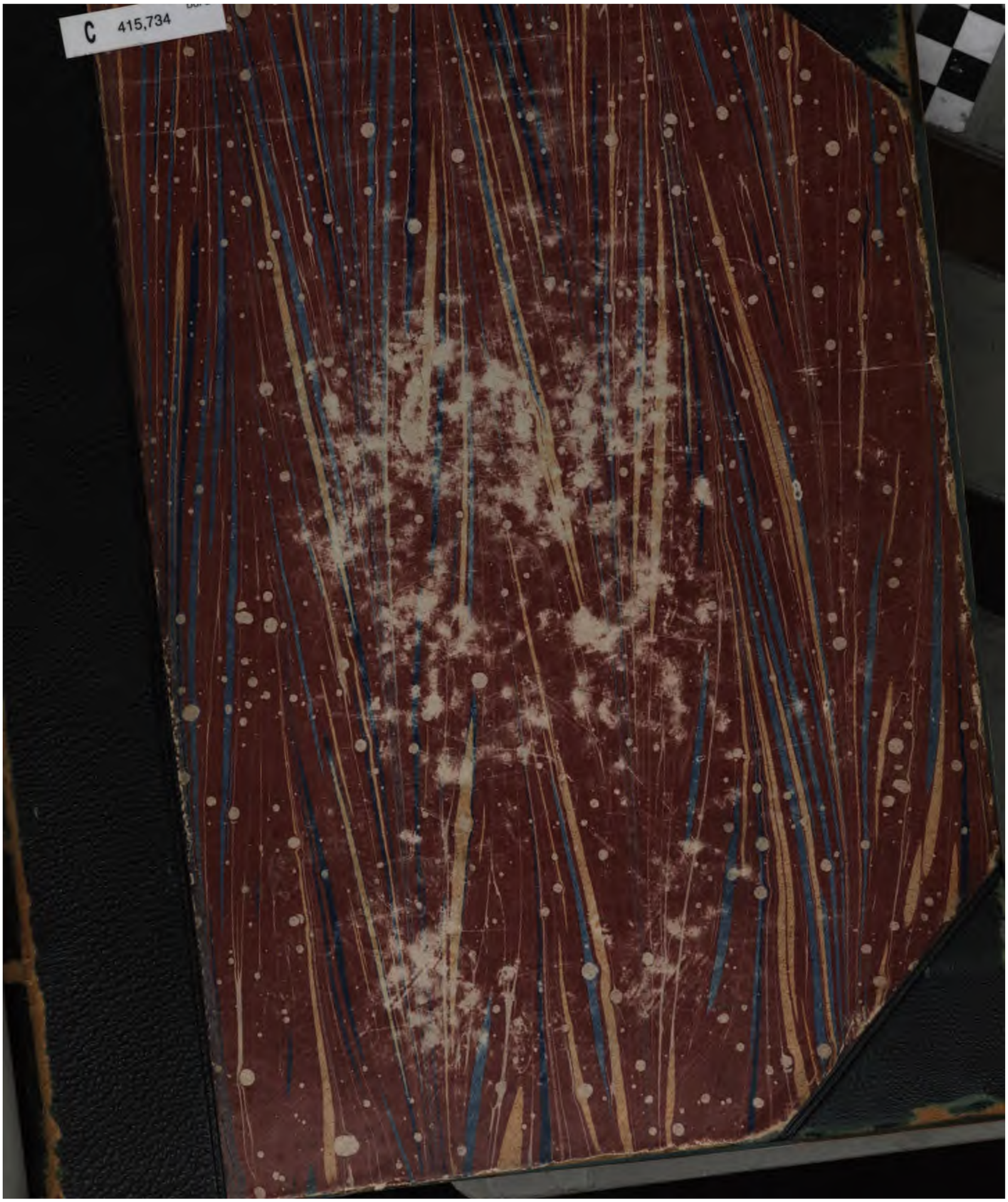
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MAY 2, 1815.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I. *Remarks on certain Ornaments of Gold found near Quentin, in Britany, in* 1832; *presumed to have been the* μανιάκαι *of the Ancient Gauls: In a Letter from the Rev.* JOHN BATHURST DEANE, *M.A. F.S.A. to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 18th February, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN the Commune of Vieuxbourg near Quentin, in Britany, is a dilapidated Temple of the Celtic religion, which, among the multitude of such sanctuaries scattered over that ancient and interesting country, might have attracted little notice, but for a discovery within its precincts, which may rescue it from oblivion, if not from destruction.

Inclosures of this kind are known to French Antiquaries under the classical name of *Teménes*. They consist, for the most part, of a number of erect stones arranged in a *circular* or *lunar* form, and are considered, with good reason, to havebe ensmall temples. In the case before us the stones which

composed the sanctuary have been too much disturbed to allow an exact description of its original figure. On the 21st of March 1832, a peasant of the Commune was digging under these stones, in the hope of verifying an opinion prevalent throughout Britany, that in places of this kind the aboriginal possessors of the soil not unfrequently deposited their treasures. His expectations were singularly and surprisingly realized: for *under*, and almost contiguous to one of the largest blocks which occupied nearly the centre of the Temène, he made a discovery which, whether we consider its extent or intrinsic worth, or the original character of the articles found, is among the most interesting in modern times. This was a deposit of *twelve ornaments of the person*, of pure gold, of excellent workmanship, in fine preservation, and of the enormous metallic value of above *one thousand pounds sterling !*

They were what, for want of a more suitable general name, would be usually called TORQUES; but were rather of the kind described by Greek writers as μανιάκαι; a word which they employ when speaking of the collars and bracelets of the GAULS. The *Torquis*, as its name imports, was a *twisted* annulus of two or more bars intertwined, after the manner of a rope, and, like it, of a *flexible* nature. The μανιάκης was *solid*, although occasionally fashioned into the funicular form.

The Ornaments of Vieuxbourg were of three kinds, some designed for the *throat*, others for the *arm*, and others for the *wrist*. In their figures they represented the sacred emblem of the *cornua lunæ*, being thick in the middle and tapering off towards the extremities, which were a little apart. The opening thus made was exactly opposite to the thickest part of the lune. Their curvatures varied between the limits of a circle and an ellipse of considerable eccentricity.

Ten of these ornaments are represented in two drawings which accompany this communication. The thin broad bracelet in the drawing No. 2, is one of a pair which were found near Carnac, and are now in the possession of a gentleman at Auray. The weight of each is 4 oz. 8 dwt. 8 grs., and, like the others, they are of pure gold. I have introduced them for the sake of contrast with the large and solid μανιάκαι of Quentin. They were probably the ornaments of a female ; while those of Quentin belonged to men.

M. Bohard, the respectable watchmaker of Rennes who purchased them

from the discoverer, offered them to the various museums of France at a little more than their mere weight in gold; and when I saw them, within three weeks after their discovery, there were hopes that a treasure so important to antiquarian knowledge, might have been preserved. I have since learned with regret that, no purchaser appearing, the whole of this splendid collection has been consigned to the crucible!

It is some satisfaction, however, to have seen them, and more to have preserved their memorials, which I now proceed to lay before the Society.

No. 1 of Plate I. was evidently designed for the throat, both from its size and shape. It is nearly circular; and the perpendicular section of the cornua is a circle. The cornua gradually tapered off from the middle point to within a little distance of their extremities, when they again increased until they were terminated by flat circular ends, whose diameters were about one third greater than that of the smallest perpendicular section. The flatness of these extremities would seem to suggest the conjecture that the ornament was fastened about the throat of the wearer by compression. But the muscular exertion required for such a purpose is almost inconceivable. One of the ornaments (No. 5) was found in this compressed state, the two ends being brought together and in close contact. There is an objection, however, to the conjecture of compression in the case before us, arising from the appearance of the ornament itself. The *ends* were not *plain,* but adorned with a cross which divided their circular extremities into four equal parts. Had they been intended for compression, this decoration would have been useless.

But a more conclusive argument may be brought against the theory of *compression,* if the following passage from Propertius be admitted in evidence:

"Torques ab incisâ decidit *unca* gulâ."

The word *unca* very aptly describes the ornament in question, if the ends *are left apart;* but not so correctly if they are compressed. Propertius is speaking of the fall of Viridomarus a *Gallic* chief; and there is reason to suppose that he was describing the μανιάκης then generally worn by the Gauls, of which the collar before us is presumed to have been a specimen. The ornament, No. 5, whose ends meet, was a *bracelet;* it is probable therefore that the μανιάκαι for the *throat* were *open,* and those about the arms and wrists *closed,* as more liable to be lost.

The whole of the surface of the ornament, No. 1, was fashioned by waving lines into an elegant torsade; and so far, by an accommodation of terms, it may be called a *Torquis*. The Romans would have so described it; but after all, it was very different from the Roman Torquis, as we shall see in the sequel. The weight of this beautiful collar was no less than 4 lbs. 1 oz. 16 dwts. 11.75 grs., and its intrinsic value at four guineas an ounce, 209*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*

This is, I believe, the heaviest article of its kind ever found; but another in the same collection weighed nearly as much. There is indeed a Torquis mentioned in Roman history which was larger; but the enormous weight of that (if correctly reported) proves that it never could have been intended for use. It was sent by the GAULS as a peace offering to Augustus, and weighed 100lbs.! and although this is measured by the Roman standard, which is to the English as 7 to 8, still the weight is beyond all reason, if intended to be placed upon the throat of the Roman Emperor. A single torquis of such a weight might have argued the wealth of its donors, and excited that cupidity among the Romans which afterwards led to the impoverishment of Gaul. Quintilian, who mentions this remarkable present, has preserved an anecdote to which it gave rise, somewhat characteristic of the age and parties. He cites it as an example of the *Evasio per jocum;* and as the joke is imperial, and moreover approaching to its 2000th year, it may be considered entitled to a repetition. We must premise, however, that it was a custom in the Roman army, that whenever a soldier had particularly distinguished himself in the field, and could bring witnesses of his gallantry, he might press his claim to the reward of a torquis in these words: "*Imperator, torque me dona.*" The torquis thus claimed was rarely refused. Upon this custom turns the point of the repartee, said to have been made by Augustus:

"Sic eluditur ridiculum ridiculo, ut divus Augustus cum ei Galli torquem aureum centum pondo dedissent, et Dolabella, per jocum, tentans tamen joci sui eventum, dixisset, *Imperator, torque me dona.* '*Malo te,*' inquit, '*civicâ donare.*'"[a]

Augustus seems to have been somewhat of the character of our own Charles the Second of facetious memory, who would at any time rather have rewarded a *pun* than a meritorious action. Dolabella calculated upon this weakness,

[a] Lib. vi. 3.

but Augustus, being at least an equal lover of gold, evaded it in the manner described by Quintilian; and, although the Emperor was notoriously parsimonious of the higher honours, still we may believe him when he tells Dolabella, that he would rather give him a *civic crown* than *the torquis*; the one being scarcely worth a *teruntius*, the other cheap at 600 sesterces.

Plate I. No. 2. The Collar No. 2 was elliptical; the *major axis* being to the *minor* as 3 to 2. Like No. 1, the cornua tapered gradually towards the extremities, and then increased until they were terminated by smooth flat ends of an elliptical form. The section perpendicular to the surface, was also elliptical.

This collar was *plain*, except at its thickest part, and within an inch of its extremities. The linear tracery in the middle was a collection of fine rings, terminated at each end of the cluster by an indented line. Similar tracery adorned the extremities of the cornua.

Weight 1 lb. 6 oz. 1 dwt. 9.89 grs. Value 75*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*

Plate I. No. 3. The best preserved of all: ornamented with a demi-tresse bounded by indentures. The figure of this collar was nearly circular, as was also that of its perpendicular section, made by a plane passing through its sides.

Weight 1 lb. 5 oz. 6 dwts. 1.04 grs. Value 72*l.* 13*s.* 4½*d.*

Plate I. No. 4. A very beautiful ornament elaborately worked in four rows of the herringbone pattern, terminated by indentures. This was the richest in the whole collection in point of adornment, but one of the least in intrinsic value. Elliptical.

Weight 1 lb. 4 oz. 13 dwts. 18.47 grs. Value 69*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*

Plate I. No. 5. A small but very thick bracelet, having its ends compressed, and in close contact as when worn. The hand of the wearer was probably cut off to obtain it, as in its closed state it could not have been drawn over the knuckles. The form of the cornua of this bracelet is adapted to the wrist, being flat within, and elliptical only on the upper side. The figure of the whole is elliptical, flattened, where the limbs meet, to suit the under part of the wrist. The section was a segment of a circle. The whole ornament was plain, but beautifully formed.

Weight 1 lb. 3 oz. 3 dwts. 12.85 grs. Value 63*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*

Plate I. No. 6. This is of the same figure as No. 5, but *open*. It may have been

intended for an arm, or a very large wrist. It corresponds in almost every respect with No. 5, only it is much larger and heavier. Its weight is so great that we can hardly suppose it to have been designed for the decoration of a warrior in actual service. It is possible that it may have been intended for the left arm; but even then it would have been exceedingly cumbrous.

Weight 3 lb. 8 oz. 9 dwts. 14.22 grs. Value 186*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*

This ornament was the second, in order of value, but not of beauty.

Plate II. No. 7. Elliptical; plain, except near the extremities of the cornua, where the tracery is arranged in two bands of parallel lines on either branch, each band indented at its commencement. The section, circular.

Weight 1 lb. 5 oz. 14 dwts. 23.57 grs. Value 74*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*

Plate II. No. 8. Elliptical, adorned throughout with an irregular demi-torsade, intersected at three quarters of its breadth by a line which runs along through the whole collar. The ornament below this division is composed of straight lines, perpendicular to the line of division.

Weight 1 lb. 5 oz. 5 dwts. 23.5 grs. Value 72*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*

Plate II. No. 9. An elegant elliptical collar, very richly ornamented with divers patterns too minute for description. They consist chiefly of a demi-tress running along the upper limb of the lune, and made up by alternations of long and short lines. These are terminated by parallel bands, with reticulated intervals. Section elliptical.

Weight 1 lb. 5 oz. 14 dwts. 23.57 grs. Value 74*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*

Plate II. No. 10. Elliptical, handsomely though not profusely ornamented. The middle portion of the lune exhibits a reticulation; over the centre and terminations of which are three bands of lines converging towards the interior surface. The ends are finished with indentures. The extremities of the cornua are also adorned with a reticulated surface, bounded by two bands of parallel lines.

Weight 1 lb. 4 oz. 15 dwts. 18.47 grs. Value 70*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*

No. 11 was like the last mentioned as to its shape and upper ornament. It had, however, in addition, two indented bands a little above the terminating tracery. This collar was mutilated; a small portion of its left branch having been cut off, near the end. It was found in this state.

Weight 11 oz. 10 dwts. 5.47 grs. Value 48*l.* 6*s.* 4½*d.*

No. 12 was of the same description as No. 1, but so battered as to be shapeless. It was decorated with a torsade throughout; and

Weighed 1 lb. 4 oz. 1 dwt. 15 grs. Value 67*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

Nos. 11 and 12 were too imperfect to admit of a satisfactory drawing; but the other ten are carefully copied, and the copies compared with the lithographic representations published by M. Bohard in the circular letter which he sent to the French Societies.

The following is a tabular view of their weights and values:

No.	lbs.	oz.	dwts.	grs.	£.	s.	d.
1.	4	1	16	11.75	209	5	3
2.	1	6	1	9.89	75	17	8
3.	1	5	6	1.04	72	13	4½
4.	1	4	13	18.47	69	13	5
5.	1	3	3	12.85	63	14	10
6.	3	8	9	10.22	186	15	7
7.	1	5	14	23.57	74	10	11
8.	1	5	5	23.50	72	13	1
9.	1	5	14	23.57	74	10	11
10.	1	4	15	18.47	70	1	10
11.	0	11	10	5.47	48	6	4½
12.	1	4	1	15.00	67	10	10
Total	21	6	14	5.80	£1085	14	1

These ornaments, upon their discovery, excited great interest at Rennes, and were generally supposed to be Roman. But upon examining the subject of Torques, which has been learnedly investigated by Scheffer, and considering the arguments adduced for their Roman origin, I have no doubt whatever that they are the solid ornaments worn by the Gauls upon their throats or arms, and are what Polybius describes under the name of *μανιάκαι*, a word not employed to designate the Roman torques. A cursory view of the extent to which such ornaments were in use in the ancient world, will shew how far this conclusion is borne out by facts.

The origin of golden Collars, as honorary badges either of civil or military distinction, is lost in the obscurity of ages. The earliest mention of them occurs in Genesis xli. where Pharaoh is described as putting *a chain of gold* round the neck of Joseph. The meaning of this investiture seems to be the confirmation of his appointment to the viceroyalty of the kingdom. The chain, although only a part of the insignia of office, was an important, and, as we learn from subsequent examples, an indispensable part of them. The word employed is רְבִיד *(Rabeed)*, which signifies *torquis*, a *twisted chain*, or *wreath*. The Septuagint render it by the more general expression κλοιὸς, a *collar*.

The word רְבִיד is again used in Ezekiel xvi. 11, where Jerusalem is metaphorically described as decorated with "*a chain*" about the neck, like a bride. From this use of the word we may conclude, that the ornament known by that name, was a light and elegant torquis, rather than a solid collar such as those of Quentin.

Another kind of ornament for the throat is mentioned in Judges viii. 26, which was worn upon the necks of the camels of the kings of Midian. This is called עֲנָק *(ānaq)*. We find it again in Daniel v. 7, under its Chaldee variation of מְנִיקָא *(menēka)*, which is the same as מָנָךְ *(manak)*, whence probably the words μανιάκης and μανιάξ. It has been conjectured that the *anaq* was a royal badge, and hence the wearer of it was called by the Greeks Ἄναξ, *king*. From the fifth chapter of Daniel it is evident that the *manak* was the symbol of civil dignity. The prophet being invested with it, was declared hy Belshazzar, "*Third ruler of the kingdom.*" The *manak* of Chaldea and the *rabeed* of Egypt were probably equivalent badges, each denoting the vice-regal authority. But the Chaldean ornament, (from the employment of the word to describe the *collars of the Gauls,)* might have been *solid*, whereas the Egyptian was *flexible*.

From the Chaldeans these collars were adopted by the Persians. Not only the King and the great Satraps, but even the celebrated guard of "The Immortals" are said to have worn them. No one, however, was permitted to assume this badge of honour, unless he had been invested with it by royal hands. From the Persians the decoration was borrowed by the Armenians and some neighbouring tribes; but it does not appear that it was ever used by the Greeks. Perhaps they affected to despise it as effeminate, because it

was the ornament of their enemies the Persians. The Romans on the other hand, adopted it as a mark of one of the highest military distinctions. The use of it was very general among them, and seems to have been borrowed from their early enemies, the Cisalpine Gauls; for the first mention of the *torquis* is in the story of Manlius, who (A. U. C. 394) tore the golden collar from the neck of a vanquished Gaul and placed it upon his own, and from that time was commonly called "Torquatus." This anecdote, whether true or invented by the old fabulists of Roman history, proves at least the general opinion of the times, that the *Golden Collar* was peculiarly a GALLIC ornament.

The "Torquati" soon became a very conspicuous part of the Roman army. They formed, as it were, a Legion of Honour, in which no difference was made between the Tribune and the common soldier. The Torquis was the badge of military merit to all who earned it. And lest, in the confusion of battle and amid the distractions of a campaign, any one might be overlooked to whom the honour was due, every one had a right to demand the torquis who could bring evidence that he deserved it. "*Imperator, torque me dona.*" was a petition which required not the interest or intercession of favourites to recommend it. On the contrary, the General who had dared to refuse it when properly supported by personal merit, would have been justly held dishonoured, and might perhaps have made atonement with his life. There were some offices in the Roman army which were always held by Torquati. That of the *Draconarius*, or bearer of "the Dragon Standard," was one of them. And such was the respect paid to this decoration, even by one of the most degenerate of the Roman Emperors, that when Hemetrius and Cheledonius, two Torquati who had embraced Christianity, were led to the stake, their torques were taken off by officers of rank—

"*Ite Signorum Magistri,*
Et vos Tribuni assistite,
Aureos auferte torques!" [a]

The Roman torquis as, was its name imports, a *twisted* ornament composed of two or more bars of gold intertwined. "*Tortus et flexilis,*" is the definition given by Scheffer; and he is borne out by the specimens which have been found in this country, especially by that elegant and perfect torquis

[a] Prudentius.

discovered January 20, 1835, at Boyton, in Suffolk, and exhibited to the Society.[b] Of this kind were the ornaments worn by the young Ascanius and his companions—

Flexilis obtorto per collum it circulus auro.

VIRGIL, *Æn.* v. 557.

It seems that there were two orders of Torquati among the Romans, that of the *Torquis major* and that of the *Torquis minor*; but in what manner these distinctions were observed, does not appear. The torques usually given were under a pound in weight. None of them, it is supposed, exceeded this weight, and some were even as low as an *ounce*. Valerian gave Claudius when a tribune, a "*torquem libralem*." This is the heaviest ever given to a Roman citizen. But Livy mentions one of *two pounds*, which was presented by the Republic to the ambassadors from Gaul, who came with an offer of aid in the Macedonian war This, in English weight would amount only to 21oz. 17dwts. 2grs., and would have ranked third in the Quentin collection, being only about half the weight of the manak, No. 6.

Pliny (33, c. 11) says, that the ancient Romans gave silver torques to their own citizens, and golden to their allies. But this has been doubted: I know not, however, upon what authority; for the more modern custom of the Romans would not disprove the fact as related of their ancestors. Certain it is that *silver torques* have been found,[c] though not so frequently as those of gold. The person in Roman history most distinguished in this manner, was Dentatus Siccius, of whom Valerius Maximus (lib. iii. c. 10.) says, "There were carried before him, in his triumph, 8 golden civic crowns, 3 mural, 1 obsidional, 183 torques, 140 armillæ, 18 hastæ, and 25 phaleræ."

The GAULS, we have observed, were celebrated in the early history of Rome as being decorated with torques. The episode of Manlius is in illustration of this remark; as Pliny has also observed: "Gallos cum auro pugnare solitos Torquatus indicio est."[d]

Among the other classical writers who mention this custom of the Gauls, the testimony of Diodorus[e] is precise: "*They wear round their necks solid ornaments of gold.*"

[b] Archæol. vol. xxvi. 471. [c] Ibid. vol. xiv. [d] Pliny, 33. 1. [e] De Gallis, lib. v.

According to Strabo,[f] even the PRIESTS of the Gauls and Germans wore golden collars upon their necks.

But the authority the most to our purpose is Polybius, who, in describing the Gallic army opposed to the Roman at the great battle of Telamon, says, "All of those who occupied the front ranks were adorned with golden *manaks* and bracelets." And he defines in another place the word μανιάκης, as if it were unknown to the Romans or Greeks:—"μανιάκης, *that is, a golden ring which the Gauls wear on their necks and wrists.*"

The selection of this word μανιάκης in preference to στρεπτὸς, shows that Polybius was not describing any ornament analogous to the Roman *Torquis*. He uses the word by which the decoration was known among the Gauls, having none in the Greek language which would accurately describe it.

Μανιάκης, or as it is sometimes written μανιάξ, is derived by Scheffer from μανος, which he conceives to be the same as the Teutonic word "*Man*;" and so called, because it was the peculiar ornament of one who was κατ' ἐξοχὴν a MAN: "Quia *mannis*, i. e. viris usque, qui se fortitur gessissent in bello, proprium gestamen fuit." But the derivation already assigned from the Chaldee *manak*, which is the one approved by Bochart, is the more probable.

GOLDEN TORQUES were always among the "*barbara* spolia"[g] of the Romans. A very large one is mentioned by Livy[h] as having been taken by Marcellus from the Insubrian Gauls, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. He also speaks of the enormous number of 1471 taken from the Boii[i] by Cornelius Scipio, and carried to Rome. The Boii were a branch of the great Celtic family. I have already cited the testimony of Propertius respecting the *shape* of the Gallic collars, the "unca torquis" of Viridomarus, which he mentions, exactly corresponds with the ornaments found near Quentin. There can be little doubt therefore to what nation these beautiful decorations belonged. The locality in which they were found, (in the centre of a Celtic temple in Britany,) and the universal custom of the Gallic tribes, who adorned not only their warriors but also their priests with such collars and armlets, claim for the Armoricans the property of these torques. But the Gauls were not the only people who wore collars of this description. The Celtic tribes generally seem to have adopted them; and those who could not, like the

[f] Lib. vi. [g] Florus. i. 13. [h] 33. 36. [i] 36. 40.

Gauls, gain access to mines of gold, were contented with metals of a baser kind, and even with the substitute of bone or ivory. Thus, the Britons wore collars made from the teeth of the sea-horse, as also from iron, and sometimes bronze.[k] The Scandinavians used copper for the same purpose.[l] *Belts of gold*, of considerable diameters, have been found in Ireland, and golden torques in Britain, which, with the famous στρεπτὸς of Boadicea, mentioned by Dio Cassius, prove that, whenever the more precious metal was to be had, the baser were rejected. Nothing however, I believe, has been yet found in Britain or Ireland exactly corresponding with the ornaments of Quentin. They are unlike any torques which I have ever seen, and more like the Roman *fibulæ* than any other ornament of that people. But the *fibula* was a small and insignificant object compared with these *manaks*. Certain mysterious articles of gold[m] discovered in Ireland some years ago, and described in the second volume of the Archæologia, also resemble them in some degree; but, taking into consideration their number, weight, and beauty, they stand, or rather *stood*, almost alone in illustration of the μανιάκαι of the ancient Gauls. There may be some doubt whether they belonged to the priest or to the warrior. Their locality may favour the former, their condition the latter opinion. If worn by the priesthood they might have been concealed in the temple upon some sudden attack by the Romans, in full confidence that no Armorican would dare to violate the majesty of the Genius Loci. But they might also have belonged to some kindred tribe, and been taken from them in one of those domestic broils which seem to be characteristic of the Celtic family in all ages and countries: with whom *peace* is but a word to signify a *change of warfare*—for peace abroad is discord at home. That the ornaments in question had been taken in battle may be inferred from their condition when found. No. 5, from its closed state and small diameter, could not have been drawn over the hand of

[k] Herodian, iii. 14.

[l] Erasmus, Stella, lib. i.

[m] These articles are pronounced by Sir William Betham, in his ingenious paper lately read before the Royal Irish Academy, to have been a variety of *the Ring Money* of the Celts; but the larger specimens which have *wide basons* at the extremities of the cornua, may find their prototypes in the *double* drinking cups of the Scythians, mentioned by Herodotus, 4, 66. Ὅσοι δὲ ἀν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναιρηκότες ἕωσι σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες, πίνουσι ὁμοῦ. This interpretation of σύνδυο may be novel, but it is defensible. The affinity between the customs of the Scythian and Celtic Tribes is well known.

the wearer. The hand was either cut off to obtain it, or the bracelet dropped off from the arm of a skeleton buried upon the spot. No traces of such burials were however found within the *Temène*. The former supposition is therefore the more probable. Nos. 11 and 12, however, bore marks of blows with some sharp or heavy weapon, for both of them were injured; one of them being mutilated, and the other so battered as to be shapeless. Upon the whole therefore I should infer that they were spoils of war rather than ornaments of the priests. Their concealment in the temple will not affect the validity of this conclusion; for it was customary with the Gauls to deposit their spoils in their sanctuaries, as we read in Cæsar, lib. vi. "In many of their cities," says that writer, "one may see great heaps of such booty laid up in their places of worship;[n] and it seldom happens that any one is so impious as to conceal the booty he has made, or to take it away when once deposited; that crime being punished with the utmost severity."

The rich tracery upon these ornaments would indicate a great advance in the arts at the time of their execution; in symmetry and elegance they could hardly indeed be excelled in the present times. One of the decorations struck me as particularly remarkable; it was of the angular pattern, similar to that so common on British pottery and ecclesiastical buildings of the earliest period of our domestic architecture. The presence of this linear tracery on the manaks identifies them as belonging to the same family of nations who fabricated the vases found in the Celtic barrows of Britain; while the *zigzag moulding* of our *Saxon* arches points to the same source for their origin. For I can hardly conceive that a people so rude as the Saxons could ever have originated any elegance of ornament in architecture; while the known high state of culture in which the Britons were at the time of the Gothic invasion, would naturally point out the latter people as the instructors of the former in all the arts. The *Saxon* arch may therefore be defined as *Romano-British; Roman* in *shape, British* in *ornament.*

The manaks of Quentin are, as far as I can find, *unique*.[o] Nothing like

[n] Locis consecratis.

[o] I understand from Sir William Betham that similar ornaments have been found in Ireland; but I have not had the opportunity of seeing them. I only speak of the Quentin manaks as *unique*, to the extent of my own knowledge. I should be very happy to be mistaken; for the specimens in question have perished.

them has come to my knowledge either in England or France. Their *probable* use has been suggested in the foregoing remarks; their *propriety*, whether druidical or military, may not be quite so evident. Over this, as over every thing connected with the history of the Druids hangs the deep veil of mystery; and ages may yet pass before it will be removed. In the meantime conjecture must supply the want of evidence, and we must not reject a reasonable approximation to the truth because we cannot arrive at a certainty. But even for this shadow of the substance we must have recourse to other shores! In our own country we can hope for little addition to the knowledge which we already possess on these subjects. The industry of the Antiquary, and the learning of the Scholar have done much to atone for the barbarism of the destroyer, and perhaps can do no more. We must look therefore to other and kindred soils, less barbarous or less civilized (the phrases are too often synonymous) for further information. Such a country is Britany: to the virtuous ignorance of whose uncivilised peasantry we may now confess our obligations for the means of knowledge which remain; and we cannot but commend the superstition, if such it was, which spared, and still spares, so many memorials of a lost religion and perished people. For if the history of the Celts be ever rescued from the graves of the Druids, it will owe its preservation to that happy contentment which grudged not the barren acre to the mouldering temple, nor the grassy mound to its sleeping minister, but hallowed alike the fane of an extinct religion and the graves of a forgotten people.

I am, my dear Sir,

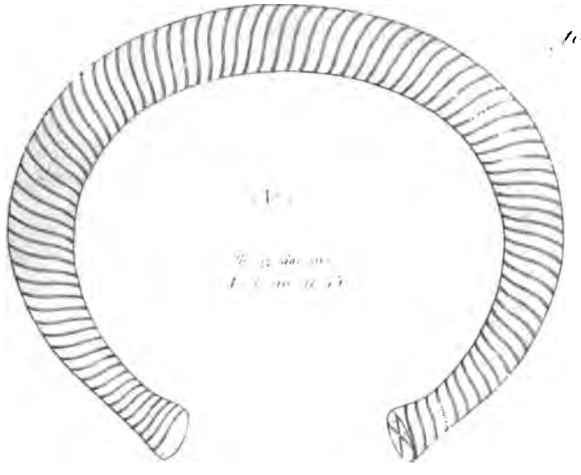
Yours truly,

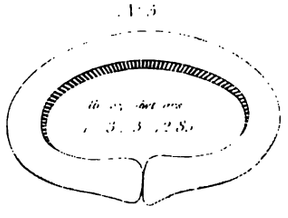
JOHN BATHURST DEANE.

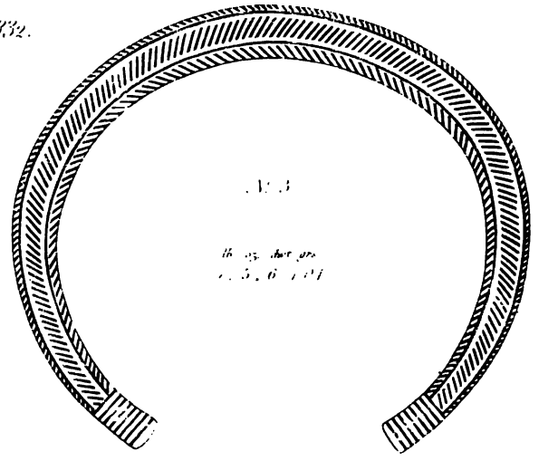
Sir Henry Ellis, F.R.S.
Secretary.

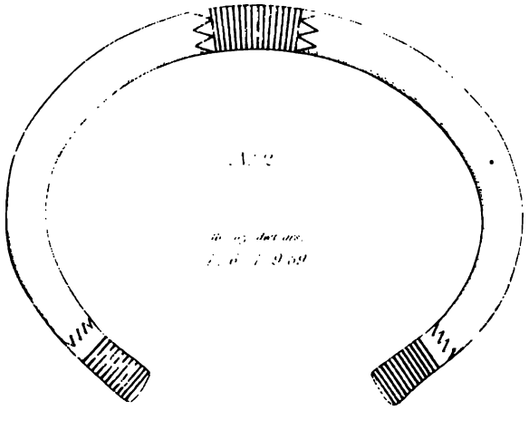
ORNAMENTS OF GOLD,

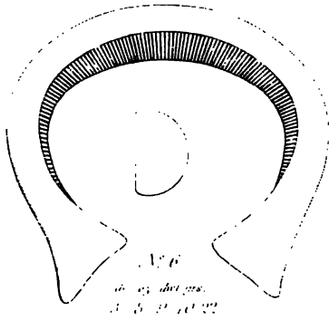
found near Quentin in Britany 1832.

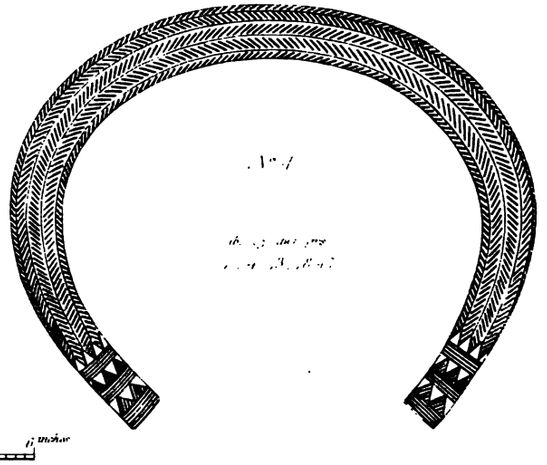


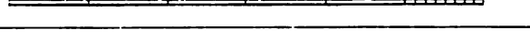










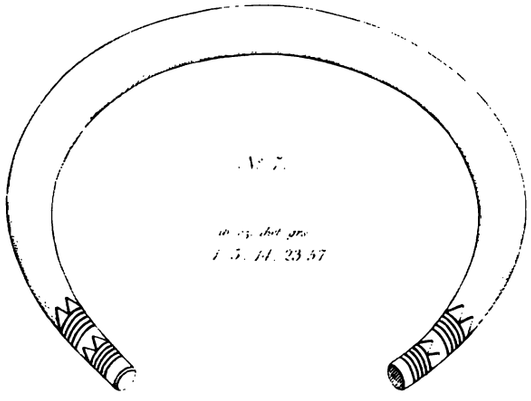


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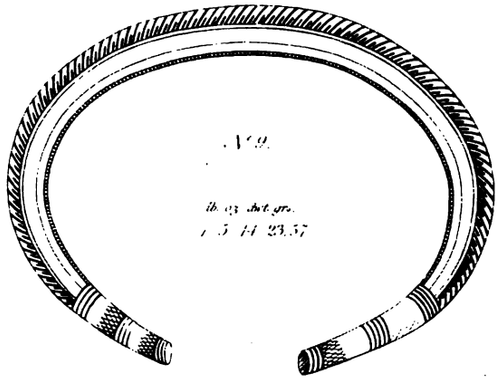
GOLDEN ORNAMENTS,

found near Quentin in Britany 1832.



N° 7.

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 5. 14. 23.57

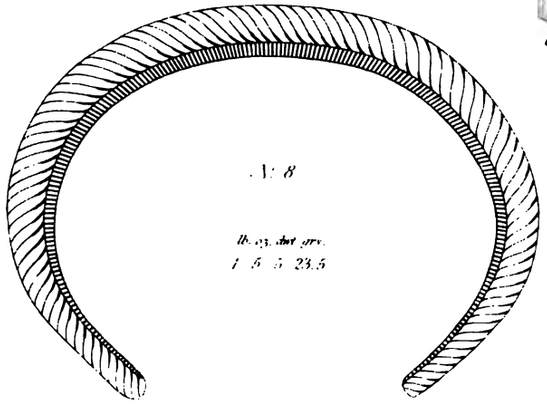


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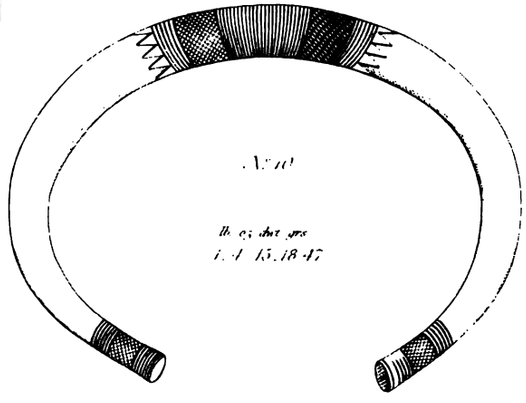


One of a pair of Bracelets.
Found near Carnac.
oz. dwt. grs
4. 5. 8.



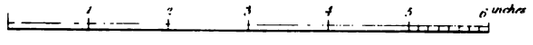
N° 8

lb. oz. dwt. grs.
1. 5. 5. 23.5



N° 10

lb. oz. dwt. grs
1. 4. 15. 18.47



J. E. D. Print Feb 1836.

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Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 30th 1833



II. *On the Number of the Lost Books of Tacitus.*

By the Lord Mahon.

Read 24th March, 1836.

THE historical works of Tacitus which remain to us are, as is well known, besides the Life of Agricola, the four first books of the Annals, part of the fifth, the sixth, the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and part of the sixteenth, the four first books of the History, and part of the fifth. It is asserted by Brotier, in his excellent edition, that the total number of books must have been sixteen of Annals and fourteen of History, and this assertion has never yet, so far as I know, been doubted or called in question. I think, however, that there are strong grounds for presuming that the real number of books was eighteen of Annals and twelve of History; and, though the point be of small importance, it may perhaps not be without some interest to the admirers of the greatest of Historians.

We learn from Tacitus himself that, having first written his History from the last months of Galba to the end of Domitian, he afterwards composed his Annals from the death of Augustus to the period first mentioned.[a] As to the number of books, the only passage to inform us is one from St. Jerome, where he mentions Tacitus as one *qui post Augustum, usque ad mortem Domitiani, vitas Cæsarum triginta voluminibus exaravit.*[b] No mention is made how many of these books were books of Annals or books of History.

Now, if we look to the progress of events, and to the number of important transactions that took place between the point where the sixteenth book of Annals breaks off and the point where the first book of History commences,

[a] Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 1. Annal. lib. i c 2, &c. [b] St. Hieron. Comment. in cap. xiv. Zach.

it will appear utterly incredible that, according to the supposition of Brotier, they should all have been comprised in the remainder of the sixteenth book. This period is one of four years, containing the extremely curious and now very imperfectly known proceedings of the insurrection in Spain and Gaul, the overthrow of Nero and the end of the family of the Cæsars; how Vindex fell in the moment of the triumph of his cause; how Nymphidius hoped to profit by the vacancy, and how his projects were arrested; how Galba advanced to Rome, and by what acts he lost the popularity to which he owed his elevation. Over quiet and less interesting periods Tacitus glides quickly, but when it is observed how much attention he bestows on times of revolution, when the whole state seems heaving and convulsed, it is impossible to doubt that he very fully pourtrayed those events of which in other writers we see only a dim and imperfect outline. The five first books of his History, being devoted to such a period, fill a space of less than two years; and thus also I conceive, the four years preceding, being scarcely less important and eventful, were related in the remainder of the sixteenth, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth books of his Annals.

In confirmation of this view, it may be observed, that the books of the Annals preserved to us are not of very unequal length. The number of chapters, though a modern and uncertain division, may afford us a rude approximation to this fact. The first book has 81 chapters, the second 88, the third 76, the fourth 75, and the sixth, of which some suppose the commencement to have perished, 51. Thus the average for each is 74. In the able Supplement of Brotier the want of sufficient materials renders of course his books much shorter, even although he has introduced some subjects, such as our Saviour's Nativity and the Legation of Philo, which in all probability were not in the original Tacitus. The number of chapters in his seventh book is only 43, in his eighth 79, in his ninth 59, and in his tenth 35; the average being 56. Now, in his Supplement to the sixteenth book, he treats of a period of which we have even less full details than that treated of in his Supplement between the sixth and eleventh books: yet in this his Supplement extends to 97 chapters! Can we believe then that Tacitus, with all his ample materials, and so wide a scope for his philosophic reflections, could have comprised this period in a single book, and extended this book to a still more disproportioned

length? And is not my conjecture much more probable, that this period formed the theme of two books more?

What, I think, tends further to confirm this conjecture, is the remarkable fondness among nearly all ancient nations for the number twelve, or some multiple or dividend of twelve. This is apparent among the Romans in their books of Epic poetry, their Tables of Laws, their Augurs, and a vast variety of other instances. Du Cange has shown that the same partiality existed amongst the early Scandinavians.[c] Spelman has traced it amongst the Boiians and Burgundians,[d] and Mr. Hallam and several other writers amongst the Anglo-Saxons.[e] I need not investigate the causes of this custom or fancy. But as it undoubtedly existed and influenced many other Latin authors in their divisions of writing, I think it more probable that Tacitus should have written his Annals in eighteen books, and his History in twelve, than have divided the former into sixteen and the latter into fourteen.

I cannot conclude without a most earnest wish that some of the discoveries of the Italian Palimpsests may ere long restore to us these lost books of Tacitus, not with any view to the trifling point which I have been discussing, but to instruct and delight mankind by a work which even now, though incomplete, appears one of the noblest monuments ever raised by human genius.

[c] Du Cange, Diction. voc. Nembda.

[d] Spelman's Gloss. voc. Jurata.

[e] Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 401.

III. *Letter from Sir* Francis Palgrave, *K.H., F.R.S., to* Hudson Gurney, *Esq. V.P. upon Three Documents of the Reign of Edward I. preserved among the Exchequer Records at Westminster, relating to Scottish Prisoners.*

Read 14th April, 1836.

My dear Sir,

AMONGST the documents relating to Scotland of the reign of Edward I. Rymer has printed one (new edition, vol. i. p. 994) to which he gives the following title: "Instrumentum continens nomina plurimorum nobilium Scotiæ fautorum Roberti de Brus qui missi sunt ad diversa castra in Angliam," including, amongst the mandates for the custody of other prisoners, the well-known order directing the confinement of the Countess of Buchan in a cage at Berwick, and which instrument is quoted by Rymer as being in this repository. I do not, however, find amongst the muniments any *one* such instrument; but, instead thereof, there are *three* distinct documents, apparently Orders made by the King in Council, and in which, the several directions for the modes of disposing of these captives were from time to time varied and altered, and in a manner highly deserving of attention. The document given by Rymer, is in fact an instrument framed by him by a consolidation of these orders, not distinguishing where one begins and another ends; and in this process, he has concealed the most remarkable features, namely, the modifications which the orders sustained in their different stages. The documents are all intended for publication by his Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records, in the volume which is to contain the inedited Scottish documents; but, in the mean while, I trust that a summary of some of the particulars which they disclose, will not be unacceptable to this Society.

"Alain, who was Earl of Menteith," was first committed to the custody of Sir Johan de Hastings, who was to put him in safe keeping in England. This

direction was subsequently varied, by giving Sir John the power to confine the " late Earl " at Bergaveny or elsewhere.

The Earl of Strathern, " when he shall have surrendered to the King," is to be placed in custody in the Keep of Rochester Castle; but he does not appear to have surrendered.

The name of John Earl of Athol was first entered upon the order as a memorandum, without any directions; the course to be adopted with respect to him was probably not settled. Some time afterwards, as appears by the variations both in the colour of the ink and the character of the handwriting, he was conducted to London by Sir Hugh le Despenser. With respect to David, " the son and heir of him who *was* Earl of Athol," the order first made did not sustain any further variations; he was to be kept in safe custody in England by the Earl of Gloucester.

The orders respecting " Donald the *son* of the Earl of Mar," sustained several modifications before the plan of his captivity was finally settled. By the first order, he was to be delivered to the Bishop of Chester, and by him conveyed to the Castle of Bristol, and the Bishop was to provide a valet, wary and trusty, " avisez et seur," who was to wait upon Donald as his master and companion, " que entende au dit Dovenald come a son maistre et compagnion.' By a second order, the Bishop of Chester is exonerated from his trust, and Donald, who on this second order is styled " the child who is *heir* of Mar," is placed under the immediate custody and charge of the Constable of the Castle of Bristol, with liberty to go freely about the castle. A further extension of liberty is then granted by a third order, permitting the young prisoner to walk on the garden and elsewhere within the close of the castle, and that he shall not be put in irons, an alteration which evidently implies that, under the first or original order he would, as a matter of course, have been thus restrained; but upon further consideration it appeared advisable, to prevent this extraordinary indulgence of personal freedom from being abused, or becoming a precedent: and to the words, " mais qil soit hors de fers," they added, at a subsequent period, as appears by the variation in the colour of the ink, " tant *come il soit de si tendre age*," so long as he shall be of such tender age; virtually directing that the permission, by which he was relieved from gyves and fetters,

was not to be continued if he should be detained in custody after he came to man's estate.

With respect to Margaret, the daughter of Robert Bruce, the first order directed her to be treated with great severity. She was to be sent to the Tower of London, and there kept in close confinement in a cage; "*Margerie la fille Robert de Brus soit envee a la Tour de Londres pour estre mise ilueques en kage, et que ele ne parle a nul homme ne nul homme a luy, fors ceux que le Conestable de la Tour assignera pour luy garder.*" But this extreme rigour excited some compunction, and, the order being cancelled, another order was made that she should be kept in England, under the safe custody of Sir Henry Percy.

It is in some respects satisfactory to observe that all the alterations which the orders sustained, are in diminution of the rigour attending the incarceration of these illustrious captives.

Whilst I am on the subject of Rymer, it may not be unimportant to notice a singular error in his transcript of the document dated 9 July, 1297, by which Robert Bruce the Stewart of Scotland, and his brother Sir Alexander Lindsey, and Sir William Douglas, submitted to Edward, and promised to make amends for their resistance to his authority. As printed by Rymer (Fœdera, new edit. vol. i. p. 808), it ends with this clause, "escrit a Sire Williame," and from which Lord Hailes and others have drawn the very plausible inference that the instrument was transmitted to Sir William Wallace for the purpose of enabling him to avail himself of the same terms. But, as in other cases, the carelessness or ignorance of a transcriber has furnished the foundation for an historical theory. The reading of the original is "escrit a Irewin," *i. e.* at Irwin; but a blur before the *I* having been mistaken for an *S*, and the parallel strokes of the *i* and the *n*, in the concluding syllable, having been mistaken for an *m*, Rymer, or his transcriber, read the word as *Sire Wm*, which *Wm* having been extended by Rymer into the word William, produced the reading of the printed Fœdera, and the opinions of the historians who have followed a text which they were fully justified in considering as correct and authentic.

I remain, dear Sir, yours ever faithfully,

FRANCIS PALGRAVE.

Hudson Gurney, Esq. V.P.
&c. &c. &c.

IV. *Letter from* THOMAS STAPLETON, *Esq. F.S.A. to* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F.R.S. Director, accompanying two transcripts of ancient Charters relating to property in Normandy.*

Read 12th May, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR, London, May 10, 1836.

AMONGST the transcripts of charters which I possess relating to Normandy, I have thought two of sufficient interest, as illustrative of judicial proceedings and feudal obligations at the time of the invasion of England, when the national usages of the conquerors were partially blended with the institutions of our Saxon population, to venture to offer them through you to the notice of the Society. The first is from the muniments of the celebrated abbey of Jumièges, now deposited in the archives of the Département de la Seine Inférieure, and my transcript is taken from a copy upon paper in the possession of Mons. Deville of Rouen, to whose kindness I was indebted for the loan of it.[a] It contains the narrative of a monk of Jumièges (Rainald the chaplain) detailing the circumstances under which he became possessed of certain property in Bayeux, in replication to a claim set up by Samson the clerk, apparently the same person with Samson de Douvres, afterwards treasurer of Bayeux, consecrated to the see of Worcester in 1097. Its purport is as follows:

In the days of Richard Duke of the Normans, and of Robert his son, and of William son of Robert, there was one Ernaldus, their chaplain, dwelling at Bayeux, possessed of considerable property in lands and houses within and without the city, which he had acquired by purchase. In the time of Duke William, he being dead, Stephen, the nephew of Ernaldus, succeeded to his uncle's property by right of inheritance, and by the grant of the Duke; which

[a] The following note is appended to this copy: "La caractere de cette notice est environ de six siecles, sur le dos de laquelle est escrit *de Baiocis*; elle est tirée de la layette de St. Pierre du Manoir." The last was the name of the principal fief belonging to the abbey in the Bessin.

Stephen had issue an infant son by a certain widow named Ovinga, sister of Normannus Ambarius at Bayeux. This child died, but the mother artfully concealed its death from Stephen; and, for an annuity of ten shillings, bought a child of a certain woman dwelling at Martragny, called Ulberga, whom Stephen believing to be his own offspring, made heir to his allodial property. After the death of Stephen and the wife of Stephen, payment of the annuity was discontinued; whereupon the woman of Martragny re-claimed her child, but could not obtain restitution, by reason of the opposition on the part of the relations of Stephen's wife. She in consequence carried her plaint before Duke William, now become King, and Matilda his wife, who were then at Bonneville-sur-Touques. The King put her upon trial of her cause before the Court, and the sentence of the King, of John the Archbishop of Rouen, of Roger de Beaumont, and the other Barons, was, that the plaintiff should have back her child, if, in the ordeal of hot iron, God preserved her unhurt. To witness the performance of this award, King William and his wife Matilda sent Rainald their chaplain to Bayeux, and together with him there were present by order of the King, William the Archdeacon, at the time of writing Abbot of Fécamp,[b] Jocelyn the Archdeacon, Robert de L'Isle with his wife Albereda, Ewermarus of Bayeux, and many others of the chief men of the city. The ordeal was gone through in the little church of St. Vigor, and the plaintiff, by the judgment of God, came forth unhurt, in the presence of Rainald and the others above named. Upon the result being made known to the King by those present, he took possession of the property of Stephen, and granted it to the Queen, who, by consent of the King, gave the allodial estate to Rainald the chaplain; for the other property of Stephen, which belonged to the church of St. John, which was a royal chapel, the King had already granted to Thomas, his clerk, then not as yet Archbishop.[c] In the course of time, Rainald, being desirous of embracing the rule of St. Benedict, repaired to the abbey of Jumièges, and, upon his admission, assigned over all the interest he then had in the property to his brethren of the monastery; for he had previously given to a clerk named Gunfred a garden, portion of the said allodial property,

[b] William de Ros (*Rots near Bayeux*) Archdeacon, Dean, and Precentor of Bayeux, was abbot of Fecamp in 1080.

[c] Thomas de Douvres, brother of Samson, was consecrated Archbishop of York in 1072.

with the condition of service only annexed; another was leased to Euremarus for a rent of eleven shillings, who was also bound to render suit of court when necessary, and as often as Rainald visited Bayeux throughout the year, to find him in wine, beer, and a loaf of bread of the customary size, the first night of his stay, and provender for the horses; to which agreement the Queen, the suzeraine of the fief, was a witness; and further, if Rainald stood in need of it, Euremarus was to give him credit in the city to the amount of one hundred shillings; a third garden Vitalis the clerk held, for which he owed service. Each of these under-tenants was restricted from selling to any others but the Abbot and monks of Jumièges, and from making any grants without their licence. Rainald then invokes the testimony of the clerk Vitalis, in proof of the property being exempt from the usual customs of the Norman Dukes, viz. toll, geld, multure, and watch and ward, and if the owner of the said property should cause his wine to be brought from Argences, from the carriage dues at Caen and at Bayeux, and calls down excommunication upon his head if he denies the truth. The narrator concludes by expostulating with Samson on his inconsistency in *then* advancing his claims, whereas he made no claim when he sold him one of the houses within the city and the land belonging to it for sixty pounds, of which fifty had been paid, and the other ten were still owing in guerdon (*in weredono*) and the men still his servants who had received the money; moreover, this was done in presence of the Queen, and at a time when Samson was in favour with King William and Queen Matilda, and who, if he had any right in the matter, would have done him justice; the payment of the money was a proof of his not knowing of any right he then had in the houses or the land.

The second Charter is transcribed from the ancient cartulary of the abbey of Mont St. Michel, now in the public library of Avranches, and narrates the terms of an agreement made at Bayeux before the Queen, between the Abbot of Mont St. Michel and William Paynell, relative to the tenure of the great fief of Bricqueville-sur-Mer, in the Département de la Manche, which had been given by William the Conqueror to the latter in marriage with his wife, and of which the Abbot was suzerain, as being within the limits of the honour of St. Pair. The following were the feudal obligations of the mesne lord and the vavassors who held of the fief—

1. In time of war, if the land should be endangered, Hugh de Bricqueville owed castle-guard for forty days with seven horsemen, himself making the seventh, their board to be at the cost of the mesne lord; the nephew of Hugh was liable to the same service, if he held his land in *parage* (that is, where land was held directly of the head, when a fief had been dismembered for the advancement of the junior branches of a family), according to the quantity.

2. Hugh de Briqueville was bound to obey the summons of the mesne lord, if free from that of the Abbot, the suzerain, himself or his son with two knights having entertainment at the family board of the lord; and if he be always under summons from the Abbot, then the lord not to have this service.

3. If the mesne lord shall have a fine to impose, or a plea to hold, he shall have the suit of the men of the land he holds of St. Michael, so that they be able to return to their own homes in the evening.

4. If the men of the fief shall be in default in respect of the services thus awarded, they shall be bound to make the lord amends at some one of the capital mansions he holds of St. Michael.

5. The mesne lord to have aid from the land held of St. Michael for the ransom of his person, or for the fine for the recovery of his land, should he commit an act of forfeiture in regard either of the King or the Abbot: for the ransom of his son by the wife of whose inheritance the land is, if taken in the service of the King or the Abbot; or for any single daughter's marriage, whom he may have by that wife.

6. The mesne lord to appoint some one to whom the Abbot should send to serve the necessary summonses on the land of St. Michael, and if, after due service, the person summoned remain away, the Abbot shall receive the forfeiture due; but if there be non-service on the part of him who shall be thus appointed to make the summons, he shall pay a fine of eighteen shillings to the Abbot, and the Abbot shall afterwards send his summons by his own deputy.

7. The mesne lord to have at his choice *(ad suum cois*[d]*)* twelve oaks each year in the forest of Longueville, as bounded by the river Ars, and no more, except by licence of the Abbot.

[d] Cois, choix. Roquefort, Glossaire de la Langue Romane.

8. William Paynell to have of the Abbot each year a dole of wax, or twenty shillings, at the option of the Abbot, in lieu of the reliefs due from the vill of Chanteloup, and for the pasturage of La Lande, if the men of Chanteloup can deraign (*deraisneer*) it as theirs in the court of Paynell.

9. The claim to La Vidande, which Paynell asserts to be appurtenant to his demesne, to be respited till the cause can be pleaded before the King when he comes to Mont St. Michel.

10. In respect of the seven PARES holding of the honour of Bricqueville, Paynell shall summon them to do suit in his court; and if of their own accord they are willing to go and render such suit, they shall be free to go, if exempt from the service of the Abbot; but if they refuse, then Paynell to make proof in the court of the Abbot, by the men of the honour who saw them render this service, that it was customary and in force as against their ancestors. The Barons of the Queen's court, witnesses of this convention, were Michael Bishop of Avranches, elected in 1068, Robert Bishop of Seez, elected in 1070, Roger de Montgomery, Richard the Viscount *(proconsul)*, Roger de Beaumont, Hubert de Rie, Humphrey de Bohun, Hubert de Port, Turgis de Tracy, Alvered Malbanc, and Geoffry de Sai.

The use of French law-terms in this early charter is peculiar, and the circumstance of the PARES of the honour, and the knights who were to serve, being limited to the number of seven, a number to which your attention has recently been drawn by the communication of Sir Francis Palgrave respecting the Seven Peers of Scotland, is not, perhaps, undeserving of remark. Trusting that I have not made a wrong estimate of the importance of the documents which I now submit to your perusal, believe me,

My dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

THOMAS STAPLETON, jun.

JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S.
Director S. A.

I.

Temporibus Ricardi comitis Normannie & Rotberti ejus filii & Willmi filii p̄dc̄i Rotberti fuit quidam eorum capellanus Baiocis Ernaldus noīe potens in prediis et domibus infra civitatem & extra civitatem que emerat suo auro atque suo argento. Quo mortuo tempore Willmi Normannorum ducis Stephanus nepos predicti Ernaldi jure hereditario successit in hereditatem sui avunculi dono Willmi Normannoꝝ ducis. Qui Stephanus habuit parvulum ex quadam muliere vidua nomine Ovinga et sorore Normanni Ambarii apud Baiocas. Quo parvulo mortuo nesciente Stephano femina illa ingeniosa dando pretium x^{cim} solidorum per annum emit parvulum a quadam que habitabat in villa que dicitur Merdiniacus et illa femina vocabatur Ulberga. Quem Stephanus credens suum, jure hereditario, heredem hereditavit illum de suis alodiis, id est, de domibus quas habebat ad Portam Arboream infra civitatem et de xii^{cim} acris terræ quas habebat ad Aureum fontem extra civitatem et de pluribus ortis censum illi reddentibus. Deinde mortua femina Stephani prius et postea ipso mortuo, supradicta femina de Merdiniaco, non habens pretium sui parvuli quod solita erat habere, reclamavit suum infantem et non potuit habere pro parentibus femine Stephani; cujus femine clamore perveniente ad Willelmum ducem jam factum Regem et ad Matildem uxorem ejus in villa que dicitur Bonavilla, fecit rex inde teneri placitum qua probatione mulier illa rehaberet suum puerum et dijudicavit rex Willelmus et Joñes archiepiscopus et Rogerius Belmontensis et alii complures quod femina illa que puerum reclamabat per judicium ferri calidi rehaberet suum filium, si Deus eam servaret illæsam. Ad quod judicium videndum misit me Rainaldum suum clericum Rex Willelmus et Mathildis uxor ejus Baiocas; et precepto Regis ibi affuerunt mecum Willm^{o} archidiaconus, qui nunc est abbas Fiscannensis et Godselinus archidiaconus et Rotbertus Insule cum Albereda uxore sua et Ewermarus de Baiocis et alii complures ex melioribus hoīb^{ꝫ} civitatis; quo judicio portato in monasteriolo sc̄i Vigoris fuit mulier illa que puerum reclamabat Dei judicio illæsa, me vidente et prenominatis hoīb^{ꝫ}. Quod rex per me audiens et prefatos viros accepit in suum dominium possessionem Stephani et dedit eam Regine et Regina dedit michi concessu Regis domos & duodecim acras terre quas jam predixi et ortos et oīa que habuerat Stephanus de suo alodio. Nam alias res ejusdem Stephani que pertinebant ad eccl̄iam sc̄i Johannis que erat capella Regis dederat jam Rex Thome suo clerico nondum archiepiscopo. Deinde ego Rainaldus Dei bonitate veniens ad ordinem sc̄i Benedicti Gemeticum petii et quod Baiocis tenueram de Rege Willelmo et Mathilde Regina eorum concessu et sigillo eidem loco concessi et quamdiu in clericali habitu fui quiete hæc oīa & absque ullius calumpnia tenui, et si loco sc̄i Petri Gemmetico rectum conceditur quiete oīa que predixi et dedi habebit, quia quiete ea tenueram et in clericali habitu ut predixi. Gunfredo clerico, cognomento Masculo, unum ortum dedi de prefato alodio, ut inde serviret michi et alium

Euremaro xi^{cim} solidos reddentem per annum. Pro quo idem Euremarus interesset meis placitis si necesse fuisset et quotiens venirem Baiocas per annum preberet michi de suo prima nocte vinum & cervisam et panem factitium per consuetudinem et victum equorum. Et hoc testimonio Regine Domine mee et si opus haberem, acrederet michi usque ad centum solidos in civitatem. Et tertium ortum dedi Vitali clerico ut inde michi serviret. Et nemo istorum potest vendere ortos istos nisi Abbati & monachis neque dare alicui sine licentia ipsorum. Hæc oĩa que prescripsi bene novit ita esse Vitalis clericus qui in oĩbȝ mecum interfuit, et si alicujus timore vel amore veritatem hujus rei negaverit excommunicet illum Deus Oĩpotens et ego in quantum possum. Et ille bene scit domos infra civitatem et terram extra civitatem positam semper fuisse quietas ab omni consuetudine Normannorum principis, scilicet theloneo, gildo, molta molendinorum et custodia vigiliarum, et Dn̄us predicte terre si faceret adducere vinum suum de Argencis esset quietum suum carragium apud Cadomum & apud Baiocas. Et ut audivi Samson clericus clamat in predictis rebus, sed tunc non clamavit quando ei vendidi unam de domibus infra civitatem cum terra ipsius domus sexaginta libris, de quibus habui quinquaginta libras & adhuc debet michi x^{cem} libras in weredono et adhuc habeo homines qui eosdem denarios receperunt. Et hoc fuit factum testimonio Regine et tunc tempus bene erat Samson cum Rege Willelmo & Mathilde regina, qui illi facerent rectum de suis clamoribus si aliquid juste clamaret, et si in illa terra aut in illis domibus se aliquid recti habere sciret, nullo modo michi tunc denarios prefatos dedisset.

II.

Conventio inter Abbatem et Guiłłmum Paginellum.

Haec carta narrat conventionem Baiocis factam coram Regina inter abbatem de Monte sc̃i Michaelis et Guiłłmum Paginellum. Si Wiłłmus Paginellus habet guerram de illa terra quam Rex Anglorum dedit sibi cum femina sua, conventio est quin Hugo de Bricavilla quadraginta diebus illi faciet de guarda vel custodia sese septimum de caballaribus ad suum cibum. Et nepos illius Hugonis similiter faciet si in parage terram suam tenuerit scd̃m hoc quod tenebit. Rursus si Guiłłmus Paginellus illum Hugonem submonuerit cum duobus equitibus eum in sua familia ad suum cibum habuerit vel filium suum, si liber erit de submonitione abbatis. Nec si eum domnus abbas semp̃ habebit, quin Guiłłmus Paginellus hoc habeat. Et ita equidem habebit in sua familia nepotem Hugonis et Robertum de Cantelupo et Guiłłmum Becketh et illum qui honorem Scollant habebit. Et si vindictam vel placitum habuerit ad faciendum, homines quos tenet de sc̃o Michaele ita habebit quod in sero erunt ad suas domos. Et si homines sibi deficient de his serviciis quæ hic sunt divisa, rectum sibi facient ad unam mansionum quas tenet de sc̃o Michaele. Auxilium accipiet de terra quam tenet de sc̃o Michaele p̃ sui corporis captione aut p̃ sua terra si foris fecerit eam erga Regem vel abbatem, vel p̃ filio

hujus femine de qua est hereditas si captus fuerit in servitio Regis vel abbatis de quo est fedus, aut ꝑ una sola filia maritanda quam habet de hac femina. Conventio est quin Guiſſmus Paginellus in terra quam tenet de abbate statuet unum hominem apud quem abbas mittet pro submonitionibus quas habet facere ipse abbas in terra quam Guiſſmus Paginellus tenet de illo. Qui si bene submonitiones fecerit, et ille remaneat quem monuerit abbas suam forisfacturam inde accipiet. Quod si in illo submonitore remanet submonitio, abbati decem et octo solidos emendabit et abbas postea per suum legatum submonitionem suam fecerit. Conventio est quin Guiſſmus Paginellus uno quoque anno duodecim quercus ad suum cois accipiet in silva de Longavilla usque ad aquam que dicitur Ars nec plus habet accipere nisi per abbatem fecerit. Conventio est quin abbas de Monte unoquoque anno dat illi unum provendarium de cera vel viginti solidos et est in cois abbatis dare quale horum maluerit, et hoc ꝑ relevationibus de Cantelupo et pro pastura de la Lande, si homines de Cantelupo possunt illam deraisneer in curia Guiſſmi Paginelli. De La Vidande quam Wiſſmus Paginellus interrogat in fedo, dum venit in monte sc̃i Michaelis, est in respectu donec coram rege. Conventio est de septem paribus de honore quem Wiſſmus Paginellus tenet de Abbate de Monte Sc̃i Michaelis quin submonuerit illos in sua curia. Qui si sponte sua ambulare voluerint, ibunt, si liberi erunt de servicio Abbatis. Si vero ire noluerint, hoc debet Guiſſmus Paganellus deraisneer in curia Abbatis per homines qui sunt de honore quam accepit cum sua uxore, qui illos viderunt in suo servicio per consuetudinem antecessorum suorum. Hujus cause testes existunt, Presul Abrincensis Michael. Eps̃ Sagiensis Robt᷒. Rogerius de Montegomerii. Richardus ꝑconsul. Rogerius de Bellomonte. Hubtus de Ria. Unfredus de Bohon. Hubtus de Portu. Turgisus de Tracei. Alveredus Malbedenc. Gaufredus de Sai.

V. *Observations on Female Head-dress in England, chiefly subsequent to the date of Mr. Strutt's Remarks in his "Habits of the People of England:" by* John Adey Repton, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to* Nicholas Carlisle, *Esq. K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read May 7, June 19, Dec. 3, 1835, Jan. 14, 1836.

As Mr. Strutt, in his "Habits of the People of England," has already given us a very full account of the female head-dress from the earliest periods, accompanied by many curious and interesting engravings, I shall confine my observations on the subject to those of a subsequent date.

The heads represented in the drawings (Plates III. to X.) are taken from old tapestries, brass-plates, early prints, &c. Many are well-known to the Society. They are only to be considered as slight sketches to give a general idea of the form and character of the dresses; but of those which are copied from well-known portraits, the faces are omitted, as it would have been difficult to procure correct likenesses.

In examining a collection of old paintings or prints, great caution is required to ascertain whether they be genuine: we have several portraits of Anne Boleyn, without any similarity in the likenesses.

Many portraits are imaginary, as in some of Houbraken's heads; and many unknown portraits have names given to them to which they are not entitled.

That some of the portraits, by the most celebrated painters, may be considered correct likenesses as early as the reign of Henry VIII. may be proved in one instance. Some years since, I was much struck with a portrait of a lady at Woburn, and felt assured I had seen it somewhere; but could not recollect where. On examining the name, I found it to be Jane Seymour. It imme-

diately occurred to me to be the same as that in the picture of King Henry VIII. and his family, which formerly stood in the room of the Society of Antiquaries; but this does not accord with the date, as Edward VI. is represented as a young man in the picture. If a conjecture be allowed, the Queen was painted for Catharine Parr, and the young King had the face taken out, and his own mother inserted.

Mr. Strutt tells us, that the "horned head-dress" which prevailed during the 14th and 15th centuries, was highly reprobated by John de Meun, who also condemns the excessive width of their head-dresses, and speaks of the quantity of fine linen which was used to decorate them with much disapprobation. A holy bishop also preached against the high horns of the ladies of the day, by comparing them to horned snails, to harts, and to unicorns; but in spite of all the remonstrances from the pulpit, that fashion maintained its ground nearly two centuries.

Paradin, in his "Memoire de L'Histoire de Lyon," (1573), gives a curious account of the female head-dress which prevailed in 1461. As that work is not often to be found in this country, the following quotation may be worthy of notice:

"La mutation & variété d'habits a tousiours esté naturelle aux François, plus qu'autre nation; en quoy ils reçoivent plus de reputation d'inconstance, que de profit. Car in ceste année mille quatre cens soixante un, les dames de Lyon qui auparavant portoyent des longues queues en leurs robbes, changèrent, & mirent aux bors de robbes de grands & larges pans, les unes des gris de laitices, les autres de martres, les autres des autres semblables choses, chacun selon son estat, & possible passoyent aucunes plus outre; & en leurs testes chargèrent certains bourrelets pointus cõme clochiers, la plus part de la hauteur de demie aulne, or trois quartiers: & estoyent nommez par aucuns les grand papillons, parcequ'il y avoit deux larges aisles deçà & delà, comme sont aisles de papillons (see Plates III. IV.); & estoit ce haut bonnet couvert d'un grand crespe trainant jusques en terre, le quel la pluspart troussoyent autour de leurs bras. Il y en avoit d'autres, que portoyant en accoustrument de teste, qui estoit parti de drap de laine, partie de drap de soye meslé, & avoit deux cornes, comme deux donjons, & estoit ceste coiffure decoupée & chiquettée, comme un chapperon d'Allemant (Plates III. IV.), ou crespée comme un ven-

tre de veau ; & celles portoyent des robbes ayans des manches tres étroites depuis les espaules jusques vers les mains, quelles s'élargissoyent & decouppées à undes. Les dames mediocre maison portoyent des chapperons de drap, facts de plusieurs larges lais, ou bandes entortillées autour de la teste, & deux aisles aux costez, comme oreilles d'asne. Il y en avoit aussi d'autres des grandes maisons, qui portoyent des chapperons de veloux noir, de la hauteur d'une couldée, lesquels bon trouveroit maintenant fort laid & estranges. L'on ne pourroit bonnement monstrer ces diverses façons d'accoustremens des dames en les escrivant, & seroit besoing qu'un peintre les representast. L'on en void plusieurs façons exprimées, estapisseries à Lyon, & aux verrières des églises, faites de ce temps là. Au surplus les filles, depuis qu'elles estoyent fiancées, jusques après un an entier des leur nopces, portoyent un ornement de teste, qu'on nommoit à Lyon *Floccard*, lequel elles laissoyent, estāt l'année revolve, & prenoyent les chapperons susdicts."[a]

In a manuscript of the "Stimulus Conscientiae" is mentioned the horned head-dress :

> " and wemen in the same wyse
> usit mony a quiente gyse,
> now beth her clothes forrud wyt oute
> summe fot, summe halfot, all aboute,
> sūme beth nakyd al ye breste
> & sūme beth *horned as a beste*."

In the Widkirk play, entitled "Judicium," Tuttivillus, in the course of his speech, gives a description of a lady whose head-dress is "horned like a cowe."[b]

The high steeple head-dress (though sometimes used by the English ladies) is chiefly represented in *French* MSS. thence we may be inclined to believe that this fashion was mostly adopted by that nation, rather than by the ladies of this country. It is curious to observe, that lofty head-dresses prevail in Normandy

[a] The horned head-dress may be found as late as the reign of Elizabeth, but covered in the middle by a kind of cloth, or drapery. See a specimen, as worn in one of the French provinces (Pl. VIII. fig. 17) published by Boissard in 1581.

[b] Collier's Annals of the Stage, vol. ii. 224.

at this present day, but with some small variation from those of the 14th and 15th centuries. (See a few specimens in Plate III.)

"France Painted to the Life," 1656, (written by Dr. Heylin, who visited that country in 1625) mentions the dames of Paris; "their habit in which they differ from the rest of France is the attire of their heads, which hangeth down their backs in fashion of a vail. In Rouen and the greater cities it is made of linen pure and decent, but here and in the villages it cannot possibly be any thing than an old dishclout turned out of service, or the corner of a table-cloth reserved from washing."

Plate III. figg. 7 to 18 contains various head-dresses from Edward IV. to Henry VII.; these may be compared with the wood-cuts in the Nuremburg Chronicle (Plate IV.)

Before the reign of Henry VII. a kind of dress was worn formed at the top of the head like the ridge of a roof, and continuing down each side of the face, as in the portrait of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby, and also in that of Anne Duchess of Exeter, sister of Edward IV. of which a sketch is given (Pl. V. fig. 6.)

In the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. the head-dress assumed a different character, having long lappets or ear-pieces hanging down on each side of the face, and extending below the shoulders, of which a single specimen from a brass-plate[c] in Writtle Church near Chelmsford, may be sufficient to give an idea (see Pl. V. fig. 10.)

The lappets were sometimes made narrow at the temples and broad below the shoulders (see Pl. V. figg. 1, 2, and 5; Pl. VI. fig. 8.)

Pl. V. figg. 1, 2, and 3; Pl. VI. figg. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, are from some old tapestry of the date of Henry VIII. and give us the detail of the ornaments, as jewels, drops, and spangles. The lappets were sometimes made of dark velvet, and studded with pearls and jewels.

Pl. V. fig. 3, is a cap with an ornamental dress twisted round at the back of the head.

[c] It is a common practice to take off impressions from brass-plates by means of rubbing with lead, or black leather upon paper; but this is a great error, as may be seen by fig. 9 and 10, which give the real appearance of the plates, while figg. 11 and 12 are representations of the impressions from the plates, the beautiful ornamental traceries of which are formed by accident.



Fig. 1. from a M.S. of Froissart's Chronicle in the British Museum.
Fig. 2 & 3. from the Engravings of Johnes's Monstrelets Chronicle
Fig. 4. 5 & 6. from Modern French Engravings.
Fig. 7. 8 & 9. from Brass Plates.
Fig. 10. from a Sketch by M.r J. Carter.
Fig. 11. 12 & 13. from a M.S. in the British Museum of the Life & Death of the Earl of Warwick.
Fig. 14. 15. 16 & 17. from D.r Dibdin's Spenceriana.
Fig. 18. from La Nef des fols du Monde. 1497. & 1509.

J. A. Repton. del

F.r Bastin sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 25th 1837.



J. A. Repton. del.

J. Basire. sc.

From the Nuremburg Chronicle. 1493.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23rd 1837



J.S. Basire sc

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 29th 1837



From some Ancient Tapestry in the possession of John Adey Repton.


1


2


3


4


5


6


7

J.A.R del

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 27th 1837.



P. Basire. Sculp.

Published as the Act directs 1st April 1794 by the Society of Antiquaries of London



Specimens of Head dresses in the reign of Elizabeth & James I.

Lady Throgmorton. 1560. 1590.

Lady Ramsay. 1577.

From a Monument in Westminster Abbey 1596.

1

2

3

4

5

F. Howard. Countess of Essex and Somerset.

6

J. Amman. 1550.

7

8

Lady Lucy Percy, about the beginning of the reign of Ja.s I.)

Rubens first Wife.

1557

9

1574

10

1572

11

Figs. 9. 10 & 11. from Brass Plates.

23

24

Q. Elizabeth's progress.

14

15

16

A Child's Hat

Figs. 17 to 22. from J.J. Boissard. 1581.

17

18

19

20

21

22

30

From a print dy. at Augsburgh.

31

13

1619

25

27

1606

1614

29

1608.

Brass Plates in Norfolk.

32

12

26

28

Figs. 27 & 28. Brass Plates from Writtle Church Essex.

Withers Emblems (Plates temp.e Ja.s I.)

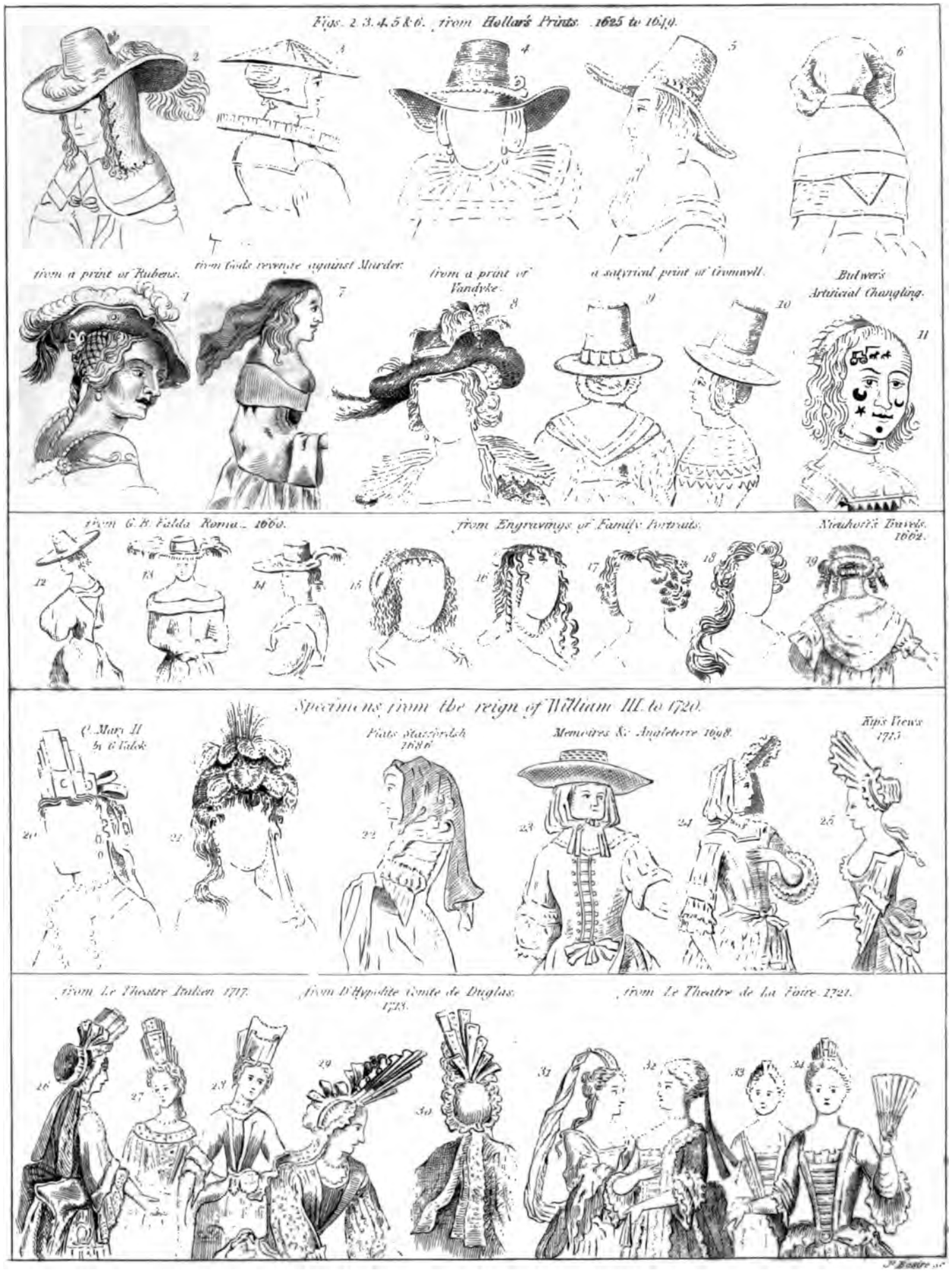
I. A. Repton. del.

H. Basire sc

the Society of Antiquaries of London April 25th 1833.
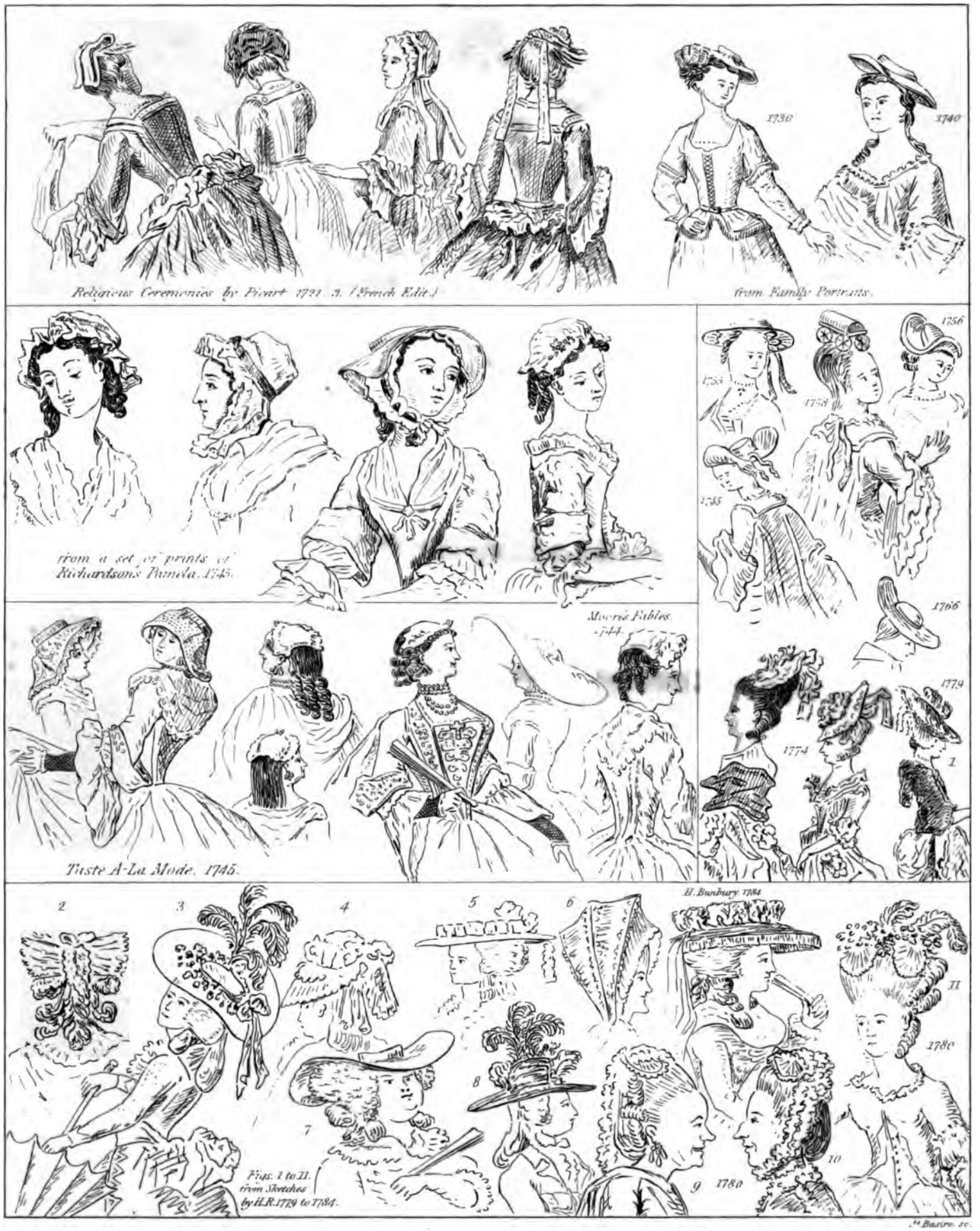


Specimens in the reigns of Charles I. and II.



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 24th 1837





Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 25th 1837.



The lappets, which hung down on each side of the face, were frequently made to turn up, as in Pl. VII. figg. 4, 14, 17, 18, and 21. Fig. 21 is from a print of Anne Boleyn, by Hollar.[d]

The head-dresses during the reigns of Henry VII. and the early part of Henry VIII. as seen in many of the portraits, appear to be formed by four straight lines, the upper lines like a flat gable of a roof. The head-dresses of Anne Boleyn and Lady Surrey were formed by two rows of beads.

Another peculiar fashion of the head-dress, is the *Frontlet*, which was made by folding over to shade the face from the sun. Frontlets in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were of considerable breadth. Pl. VI. figg. 1, 2, 6, 7; Pl. VII. fig. 3. This fashion continued to the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. as may be seen in several monuments, &c.; but they became narrower, as in Pl. VIII. figg. 3, 4, and 5, from Westminster Abbey, and fig. 19; they were sometimes highly enriched, as seen in a monument in the south side of the Abbey. That the *frontlet* was sometimes very costly we gather from an item of expense in the reign of Henry VIII.

"Payed for a *frontlet* loste in a wager to my lady Margaret iiij.*li.*[e]

The cap (as well as the lappets) was frequently very highly enriched with jewels, and generally formed into net-work, from whence it derived the word caul. Dr. Johnson says, "caul, of uncertain etymology, the net in which women inclose their hair, the hinder part of a woman's cap."[f]

The webs of spiders are sometimes called *cauls*, as in Clitus's Whimzies, page 7.

[d] Figg. 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, and 22 are copied from Holbein's Portraits, published by Chamberlaine. Figg. 17, 20, and 23, from Hollar; 15, 16, and 24, from other prints. Figg. 15, 16, and 17 represent three different head-dresses of Anne Boleyn; fig. 18 the head-dress of the Marchioness of Dorset, of an earlier date than the engraving of her published by the Society. Figg. 19 and 20 Anne of Cleves; figg. 24, Catharine Parr. Figg. 21, 25, the head-dress of Queen Mary at different periods.

[e] Ellis's Letters, vol. i. 273.

[f] A *cowl*, a monk's hood, derived, according to Dr. Johnson, from cuzle, Saxon: cucullus, Latin. It may be observed that this word and *caul* both allude to the covering of the head. The language formerly used at the English court, and among the higher ranks of society, was Norman-French, and of course with the French pronunciation, as in the diphthong *au*, pronounced *ou* or *ow*, as in *Pauls*, which was formerly pronounced *Powles*.

" His shelves, for want of Authors, as subtilly interwoven with *spider's caules.*"

The following quotations relating to the caul or net-work with jewels, &c. may be worthy of notice.

In the romance of Kyng Alexander,

" Hire yelowe heer was faire atyred
" With riche stringes of gold wyred."

It is unnecessary to give every passage from our early romances, or even to quote Chaucer's prologue to the legend of Goode Women, as

" A fret of golde she had next her heere."

There is a print of the Lady Abergavenny (who died in 1525) in which she is represented with a rich caul, with the Gothic and the Roman letters A in octagon patterns; she was sometimes called Bergavenny, which is incorrect. " Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the Lord Abergavenny, was arrested in 1538," thus the name is spelt in Sir H. Ellis's Letters, cxxxv.[g]

" In the Visit of the Duke of Najera to England," is mentioned, that the Princess Mary wore " a head-dress of many rich stones " [el tocado de muchas piedras ricas]. All the other ladies were dressed in different silks, with splendid head-dresses." [Archæologia, vol. XXIII.]

Holinshed describes the procession of Queen Mary in 1553, and says, that she had " on her head a *kall* of cloth of *tinsell* beeset with pearle and stone, and above the same upon her head a round circlet of golde beeset so richly with pretious stones that the value thereof was inestimable; the same kall and circle being so massie and ponderous that she was faine to bear up her head with her hand," &c.

We may form some idea of the richness and splendour of the jewels of the head-dresses from the engravings in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, and also from a highly finished print of the Marchioness of Dorset [published by the Society, plate IV.] This portrait, with the curved lines formed by wires on each side of the forehead, which superseded the four straight lines round the

g That the initial letter of the name was worn about the time of Henry VIII. we find by a portrait of the Lady Monteagle; she has the letter M ornamented with pearls, &c. at the end of her necklace.

face, reminds us of a poem, entitled, the "Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen," 1595.

"These flaming heades with staring haire,
These *wyers turnde like horns of ram*,"——Again,
"These glittering *caules* of golden plate
Wherewith their heads were richlie dect,
Makes them to seeme an angel's mate
In judgment of the simple sect." [h]

A letter to Cecil, Lord Burleigh, gives an account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, that "on her head she had a dressing of lawne edged with bone lace,"—"a vail of lawne fastened to the *caule*, bowed out with wyre and edged round about with bone lace."

In the various pictures of Mary Queen of Scots, in one she has auburn hair, in another black, and in another yellow. We have in Hayne's State Papers, p. 511, a letter from Mr. White, servant of Queen Elizabeth, to Mr. William Cecil, mentioning his having seen her at Tutbury: "*she is a goodly personage*, says he, &c. *her hair is black*, but Mr. Knowles told me, she wears hair of sundry colours." [i]

The following quotation from the Letters edited by Sir H. Ellis [ccxxxvi. 2nd series] relates to the wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth, 1587.

"When Hentzner saw Elizabeth in her 67th year, she wore false hair, and that red. In the jewel book here mentioned we have a long list of her Majesty's *wigs*, or rather *head dresses;* they are called at the head of the page *Attiers*.

"Item, one cawle of hair set with pearls, in number xliij.

"Item, one cawle of hair set with pearle of sundry sort and bigness, with seed pearl between them chevron-wise, cxcj.

"Item, a caule with nine trueloves of pearl, and seven buttons of gold; in each button a rubie."

Among the MSS. in the British Museum there is a curious letter from James I. to his son in Spain, describing the different jewels, &c. which were

[h] Restituta, vol. iii.

[i] See Gent. Mag. for Oct. 1790, review of Gilpin's Picturesque Views of Scotland.

sent for the Infanta ; " a head-dressing of two and twenty great peare pearles ; and ye shall give her three goodlie peare pendant dyamonts, qwhair of the biggest to be worne at a needle on the middeth of her foreheade, and one in everie eare." (Macauley's History of England, vol. i. 202.)

Stubs likewise alludes to the Caules and the extravagance of the head attire of his time :

"They have also other ornaments besides these to furnishe forthe their ingenious heades, which they call (as I remember) *caules*, made netwise, to the ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of golde, clothe of silver, or else tinsell (for that is worst wherewith their heads are covered and attired withall underneath their caules) may the better appeare and shew itself in the bravest manner, so that a man that seeth them (their heads glister and shine in such sorte) would think them to have golden heades. And some weare lettice cappes with three hornes, three corners I should say, like the forked cappes of priests, with their perriwinckles, chitterlinges, and ye like apiste toyes of infinite varietie."

Likewise " Willobie his Avisa," &c. 1605.

" Silke gownes and velvet shalt thou have,
With hoods and *caules*, fit for thy head,
Of goldsmithes worke a border brave,
A chain of gold ten-double spread."

British Bibliographer, vol. iv.

These caules, however richly ornamented, seem not to have prevented bonnets from being worn over them. Hall describes " The Ladie Marie, doughter to the king, and with her seven ladies, all appareled after the romayne fashion in riche cloth of gold of tissue and crimosin tinsel bendy, and their heres wrapped in *calles* of gold, with bonets of crimosin velvet on their heddes set full of pearle and stone."

Hall also gives a minute description of the meeting of the King with Anne of Cleves, and throughout the whole account we hear no complaint of her want of beauty, or of being called the *Flanders Mare*. The King conducted himself in every respect as a well bred man; he met her at Rochester, when she " received and welcomed him on her knees, whom he gently took up and kyssed, and all that afternoone communed and devised with her, and that night supped with her." Without entering into the detail of the dress of Anne of

Cleves, I shall merely describe her head-dress; she had "on her head a *kall*, and over it a round boñet or cappe set full of orient perle of a very proper fassyon, and before that she had a cornet of blacke velvet, and about her necke she had a partelet set full of riche stones which glistered all the felde." Notwithstanding all these splendid jewels upon the head-dress, the English or French fashion seems to have improved her appearance. "On whiche daie she was appareiled after the Englishe fassion, with a French whode, which so set forth her beautie and good visage, that every creature rejoysed to behold her." Again: "O what a syght was this to see so goodly a prince and so noble a kyng to ride with so fayre a lady of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and in especial of so good qualities, I think no creature could see them but his hearte rejoysed."

In the Rolls of Provisions upon the marriage of the daughters of Sir J. Nevil, temp. Henry VIII. we have the prices of a bonnet:

	s.	*d.*
"Item, 3 black velvet bonnits for women, every bonnit 17*s.*	51	0
Item, a frontlet of blue velvet,	7	6
Item, a millen[k] bonnit, dressed with agletts	11	0
Item, a bonnit of black velvet	15	0
Item, a frontlet for the same bonnit	12	0"

In the Household accounts of the Lestranges we find that the Milan bonnets were worn by *gentlemen.*

"Item, p[d] the same daye for ij *Myllen* cappes for Mr. Hamonde le Strange iiij. *s.* viij. *d.*"

Sir Thomas Elyot said it would be ridiculous to see an apprentice of the law, or pleader, to come to the bar with a Millayne or French bonnet on his head set full of aiglettes.

Hall likewise speaks of these Millen bonnets; ten ladies had "on their heades square bonnettes of damaske gold with lose golde that did hang doune at their backes," &c. "Ten other ladies had Myllaine bonettes of crimosyn sattin drawen through with clothe of golde."

In addition to the bonnets and caps, there was another article for the female

[k] Milan, a city in Lombardy, whence our milliner.

head attire, called a *hood.* In early writers, this word was sometimes spelt *hoke,* and this has led to the mistake of imagining the word *huke* may have the same meaning; but this is a different dress from the hoke or hood, as explained in vol. XXI. of the Archæologia, as derived from *hucca, hucque,* or *heuke,*[1] a mantle. Cole's Dict. 1724, says, it is a Spanish or German mantle covering the whole body.

We see by the following quotation, that this mantle was worn by Elinor Rummin; the last ten lines only, allude to her head-dress. Mr. Strutt, in giving the same extract, has inserted the word *duke* for *huke,* probably a misprint:

" Her *huke* of Lincole greene,
It had bene hers, I weene,
More than fortye yeare,
And so it doth appeare,
And the grene bare thredes
Looke like sere wedes,
Withered like haye,
The wool worne awaye,
And yet I dare saye
She thinketh herself gay
Upon a holyday
When she doth araye
And girdeth in her getes
Stitched & pranked with pletes.
Her kirtell bristow red
With clothes upon her heade
That they way a sowe of leade
Wrythen in a wonder wise
After the Sarazins gise
With a whim wham
Knit with a trim tram
Upon her brayne panne
Like an Egiptian
Capped aboute
When she goeth oute."

A portrait representing her (dated 1620) with a broad brimmed hat and a small peaked crown is probably imaginary, but it seems from the above quotation that her head-dress was as magnificent as her superiors, and similar to the specimens of those from the Nuremburg Chronicle, or that from a single head in the Cowdray picture. [See Pl. VII. fig. 11.]

What was the distinguishing difference in the form of the *French hood* from that of the English, I have not been able clearly to ascertain; but that the French hoods were worn from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I. by the ladies of the court, appears from the following quotations:

[1] In "the Ladies' Dictionary," the *huke* is thus explained: "A Dutch attire, covering the head, face, and all the body." From this it appears, that the mantle and the hood sometimes formed one dress, which may account for the hood being confounded with the huke.

In "A mery play betwene the Pardoner and y^e^ Frere, the Curate and neybour Pratte," written before 1521, mentioning the various rilics, the Pardoner says:

"And here is of our Lady al relyke full good,
Her bongrace, which she ware with her *French hode*." [m]

In the household and privy-purse accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton we find the following:

"1530. It'm, pd the xvijth day of December to Mrs. Brograve, by the hand of Bartyllmew Skyppon, for ij. *French hoods*, wt the byllym^ts^ for Kat'yne and Anne xxx*s*.

Edw^d^. VI. "a hatte for my ladye, and a hatte for my lady Hastings, of velvett xxviij*s*.

"———for a *French hoode* xiij*s*. and for ij cornetts of velvett x*s*. for my ladie xxiij*s*."

And the ladies in the lower grades of society, we find in those days were no less emulous of copying the fashions of their superiors than in the present times. This vanity is satirized in a passage of Stubs:

"Then on toppes of their stately turrets (I mean their goodly heades wherein is more vanitie then true philosophie now and then) stand their capitall ornaments, as *French hood*, hatte, cappe, kercher, and such like, whereof some be of velvet, some of taffatie, some (but few) of wooll; some of this fashion, some of that; some of this colour, some of that; according to the variable phantasies of their serpentine mindes. And to suche excesse it is growne, as every artificer's wife (almost) will not sticke to goe in her hat of velvet every day, every merchant's wife, and meane gentle-woman, in her *French hoode*, and every poore cottager's daughter in her taffatie hat, or els of wooll at least, &c."

And again, "The Golden Fleece, divided into three parts, &c. by Orpheus junior, 1626," says:

"In France the meaner sort of women weare hoods of taffata, others of sattin, and the better of velvet. No man intrudes upon another's vocation. But with us, Joane is as good as my lady; citizens' wives are of late grown gallants," &c.[n]

[m] Collier's Annals of the Stage, vol. ii. 387.

[n] British Bibliographer, vol. ii.

In a collection of epigrams by Sir John Mennis and Dr. J. Smyth (about 1658) is a complaint from a lady of fashion:

"*Lusia*, who scorns all others' imitations,
Cannot abide to be outgone in fashions;
She says she cannot have a hat or ruffe,
A gown or peticoat, a band or cuffe,
But that these citizens (whom she does hate)
Will get into't, at ne'er so dear a rate;
But *Lusia* now doth such a fashion wear,
Whose hair is curl'd, and cost her somewhat dear,
That there's no citizen, what-e'er she be,
Can be transform'd so like an owl as she."

And from the "London Prodigal," 1605 (Act iii. sc. i.)

"*Civ.* No, Franke, I'll have thee go like a citizen in a guarded gown and a *French hood.*

"*Fran.* By my troth, that will be excellent indeed."

"*Del.* Brother, maintain your wife to your estate,
Apparel you yourself like to your father,
And let her go like to your ancient mother,
He, sparing, got his wealth, left it to you,
Brother, take heed of pride, it soon bids thrift adieu.

"*Civ.* So as my father and mother went, that's a jest indeed; why she went in a fringed gown, a single ruff, and a *white cap.*"—Again,

"*Civ.* I have set down my rest, thus far, to maintain my wife in her *French hood,* and her coach," &c.

Velvet seems to have been considered the most elegant material for the head. In the "City Madam," 1632, the knight's lady wore "a chain of gold,

"A *velvet hood,* rich borders, and sometimes
A dainty minever cap," &c.[o]

[o] "Minever is the fur of the ermine mixed with that of the small wesel (Menuvair) called gris or grey." (Cotgrave.) The nobility had them of ermine and sable, the wealthy merchants of vair and grey (the dainty minever). The lower order of people, &c. of the squirrel, lamb, and above all of rabbits' skins, &c.

" Cornu-copiae, Pasquil's Night-cap," 1612, thus speaks of the velvet hood:

" That (sure) I thinke them in their hattes as good,
As gentle-women in their *velvet hood,*
Indeed the gentlewomen looke more high,
And of the citizens will take the wall,
Yet have they but their pensions quarterly,
To keep themselves, and find their house withall."

" The Wits, by Sir W. Davenant," (1636) A. ii. s. 1.

" *Y. Pal.* Yes, and she looks like the old slut of Babylon
Thou has read of. I told her she must die,
And her beloved *velvet hood* be sold
To some Dutch brewer of Ratcliffe, to make
His yaw frow slippers."

There is a print by Hollar, of a person leaning upon a table; he wears a mantle, upon which is represented a great variety of female heads, from which we may form a perfect idea of the fashion which prevailed during the reign of Charles I. viz. the cap, the dark-coloured hood, the small curls on the head-dress, the light-coloured hat over the cap, &c. It is extremely curious. The Vandyck lace over the shoulders, the small curls of the hair, and the pearl drops to the ears, are too well known to require any description.

Another print by Hollar, of the coronation of Charles II. represents the peeresses with their coronets. Behind them are the wives of the commoners, &c. some in their hair with small curls, others in hoods fastened under their chins.

There are also prints by Hollar, representing the four seasons; Spring and Summer with their heads uncovered, the hair in small curls; Autumn with a dark velvet hood and tippet; and Winter in the same kind of hood, with the addition of a black mask, and her shoulders covered with fur, and a fur muff.

The *Querpo Hood* (corrupted from Cuerpo, *Sp.* a dress fitting to the body,) seems to have been chiefly worn by Puritans, and by females of the lowest rank of society. In the works of Ned Ward is a dialogue between a pround termagant and her miserly husband; she says,

" No face of mine shall by my friends be view'd
" In Quaker's Pinner and a *Querpo hood.*"

The wife of Cromwell is thus described in a satire entitled "The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, commonly called Joan Cromwell," &c. 1664.

"She was the same recluse likewise in her habit; rather harnessing herself in the defence of her cloathes, than allowing herself the loose and open bravery thereof, as not having been used to such light armour; and her hood, till her face was seen in her highnesses glasse, was clapt on like a head-piece, without the art of ensconcing and entrenching it double and single in redoubts and hornworks. In fine, she was cape-a-pe like a baggage lady, and was out of her element in her vicinity to y^e^ court and city."

The Spectator, No. 265, gives some account of *hoods* at an opera. "As I was standing in the hinder part of the box, I took notice of a little cluster of women sitting together in the prettiest coloured hoods that I ever saw. One of them was blue, another yellow, and another philomot; the fourth was of a pink colour, and a fifth of a pale green. I looked with as much pleasure upon this party-coloured assembly as upon a bed of tulips," &c.

In No. 271, "I was last Thursday in an assembly of ladies, where there were thirteen different coloured hoods." Again, "She told me the other day that she heard the ladies wore coloured hoods, and ordered me to get her one of the finest blue."

In No. 273 is an "Advertisement from the Parish Vestry." "All ladies who come to church in the new-fashioned *hoods*, are desired to be there before divine service begins, lest they divert the attention of the congregation.

RALPH."

No. 517, speaking of Sir Roger de Coverley, "It being a very cold day when he made his will, he left for mourning to every man in the parish a great frize coat, and to every woman a *black riding-hood*."

Beau Nash, who was master of the ceremonies at Bath in the reign of Queen Anne, found some difficulty in preventing the country squires from dancing in boots at the assemblies. One of his contrivances was the getting up a puppet show, "in which Punch came in booted and spurred in the character of a country squire. He was introduced as courting his mistress, and having obtained her consent to comply to his wishes, upon going to bed he is desired to pull off his boots. 'My boots,' replied Punch, 'why, madam, you may as well bid me pull off my legs. I never ride, I never dance without them; and this

piece of politeness is quite the thing at *Bath.* We always dance in our town in boots, and the ladies often move minuets in *riding hoods.*' Thus he goes on, till his mistress, grown impatient, kicks him off the stage."

That the female Quakers wore hoods in 1737, we find in the following passage from Gay's Trivia, Book iii.

" Nay, she will oft the *Quaker's hood* prophane,
And trudge demure the rounds of Drury Lane."

Again—

" In *riding hood* near tavern doors she plies."

In the Connoisseur, No. 134, we have new fashions introduced into the country from London (about 1756), " a grocer's wife attracted our eyes by a new-fashioned cap, called a Joan; and at another (borough town), they were wholly taken up by a mercer's daughter in a *nun's hood.*"

One of the useful appendages to the female head-dress is the *calash.* At what time it was introduced, I have not been able to ascertain; it is not mentioned as a *head-dress* in any of the editions of Johnson's Dictionary [except that of 1820]; probably it was not known when the first edition was published in 1754, nor is it noticed by Dyche 1760, nor by Barclay 1774. But from a drawing in my possession, it may be traced as early as 1776, [see Plate X. fig. 6]. Its name was probably derived from the head or hood which was added to the carriages called calashes.

The next article of the female head-dress is the *hat.* This word was anciently applied to all coverings for the head, and it is difficult to say when it was distinguished from a bonnet or cap; but it seems to be used according to the acceptation of the modern term by Chaucer, who describes the wife of Bath as wearing,

" On her hede an *hat*
" As brode as is a bokeler or a targe."

My quotations on the subject will commence with the reign of Henry VIII. About that period we occasionally meet with specimens from old tapestries, paintings, &c. some with a broad brim, but those which are without any brim, are of an earlier date. A sketch of the latter, ornamented with jewels, is given [Plate III. fig. 10,] from a drawing by Mr. J. Carter, from the old tapestry which formerly hung in the Painted Chamber.

In the 28th of Henry VIII. we find among the new year's gifts to the Lady Mary, "a *hat* from Dr. Augustine."[p]

On taking up our freedom in a corporate city, we are required to be buxome and obedient to Mr. Mayor; but in the following quotation, we find that the Mayor of Chester expected the *ladies* to be obedient to his commands: "32 Henry VIII. Henry Gee, Mayor, to distinguish head-dresses of married women from unmarried; no unmarried women to wear white or other coloured caps, and no women to wear any *hat* unless when she rides or goes abroad into the country, (except sick or aged persons) on pain of 3*s.* 4*d.*"[q]

We rarely meet with specimens of women's *hats* in the reign of Henry VIII. Two examples are given, one from the tapestry in the Prince's Chamber [Pl. VII. fig. 7], and the other from a wood-cut 1520 [in the same Plate, fig. 2]; these have low crowns and broad brims.

But about the year 1550, the *high crowned hats* were introduced, rounded at the top like a sugar loaf; this form continued during a great part of the reign of Elizabeth; the tops of the high crowned hats were afterwards made straight, but the sugar loaf hat continued till as late as the reign of Charles I. In Webster's "Westward Ho," (Act v.), the sugar loaf is thus mentioned:

"*Sir Gos.* I would prove 'em, mother, best-betrust; why do I not know you, grannum? and that *sugar loaf?* ha! do I not megaera."

"*Bird.* I am none of your megs," &c.

Bulwer, in the "Vanity of Apparell," speaks of women wearing the sugar loaf as well as the men.

The following is from a scarce work entitled "Theeves falling out, or true men come by their goods, &c. by R. Greene, 1637." In a dialogue between a he-foyst and a she-foyst, the woman says, "suppose you are good at a *lift*, that is, shop-lifting—in mercers' shops, with haberdashers of small wares, haberdashers of *hats* and caps, &c. who be more cunning than we women, in that we are most trusted? For they little suspect us, and we have as close conveyance as you men; though you have cloakes, we have skirts of gownes, hand-baskets, the *crownes of our hats*, our plackards, and

p Ellis's Letters, vol. i. 292.

q Lysons's Cheshire, p. 600.

for a neede, false bags under our smocks, wherein we may convey more closely then you." [Harl. Miscel. vol. iv. 249, 8vo.]

In the "Magnetick Lady," of Ben Johnson (Act V.) a high price for a emale hat is described:—

"You shall have a new, brave, four pound *beaver hat*, set with enamel'd "studs, as mine is here."

In the reign of Elizabeth and James, hats made of beaver were considered too expensive for women of inferior fortune; they were made of cheaper materials, as described by Shakspeare:

"And there's her thrum hat, and her mufflers too."[r]

In the history of George Dobson, printed 1607, a country ale-wife is described as wearing a "square thrumb'd hat."[s]

The high-crowned hats, after they had been worn by ladies of fashion until they were imitated by the canaille, were exchanged in the reign of Charles I. for the more graceful fashion of the broad spreading *hat*, the crown lowered, and ornamented with feathers [Plate IX. figg. 1, 2, 8, 12, 13, and 14], and are chiefly found in the paintings of Rubens and Vandyck.

Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, (edited by Dallaway,) mentions the picture of the Queen of James I. "His Queen in a hunting dress, hat, and feather, with her horse and five dogs, at Kensington, with a view of the Palace at Oatlands, painted by Paul Vansomer."

The following passages are from the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Esq.

"1663.—The Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies; she looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume on her *hat* (which all took notice of). I followed them up to White Hall, and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fidling with their *hats* and *feathers*, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beautys and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dresse, with her hat cocked and a red plume," &c.

"1665, July 27,—But it was pretty (at Hampton Court the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, and the ladies setting out for Salisbury,)

[r] *Thrum*, any coarse yarn.

[s] Strutt, vol. iii. p. 83.

to see the young pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, *caps*,[t] and ribbands, and with laced bands, just like men, only the Duchess herself it did not become."

"1666, June 11.—Walking in the galleries at White Hall, I find the ladies of Honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with *perriwigs* and with *hats*; so that only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and a sight did not please me; it was Mrs. Wells and another fine lady that I saw thus."

At the Duke's Theatre, Pepys speaks of an actress, "one dressed like a country maid with a *straw hat* on."

1667, August 11.—"The women had pleasure in putting on some *straw hats*, which are much worn in this country, and did become them mightily, but especially my wife."

1669.—Pepys mentions "the mistress of the house, an oldish woman in a hat."

Evelyn in his Diary 1666, mentions the Queen of Charles II. "The Queene was now in her cavaliere riding habite, *hat* and feather, and horseman's coate, going to take the aire."

The following extracts from the Spectator may be thought curious:

No. 435 speaks of the ladies dressing themselves in a hat and feather, a riding coat, and a perriwig, &c. One of the tenants of Sir Roger de Coverley met a gentlewoman in a coat and hat; "who meeting this gentlemanlike lady on the highway, was asked by her, *whether that was*, Coverley Hall? the honest man seeing only the male part of the querist, replied, 'Yes, Sir;' but upon the second question, *whether* Sir Roger de Coverley *was a married man*? having dropped his eye upon the petticoat, he changed his note, into '*No, madam.*'"

Again, the Spectator met "one of these my female readers in Hyde Park, who looked upon me with the masculine assurance, and cocked her hat full in my face."

[t] Here it seems as if the hat and cap were the same.

No. 485 mentions a young woman on horseback with a mien and air of a young officer, who pulled off her hat, in which there was a feather.

No 331 says of the ladies, that "they already appear in hats and feathers, coats and perriwigs,[u] and I see no reason why we may not suppose they would have their *riding beards* on the same occasion."

These masculine ladies are thus satirized in a French work, entitled "Le Theatre Italien de Gherardi (vol. vi. 323) anno 1696,"—"que les femmes, pour avoir quelque chose de masculin, portent au lieu de cravattes des steinkerques et le poignard au bout; qu'elles fouettent les bouteilles de vin comme des Suisses, le ratafia, et l'eau clairette comme nos jeunes officiers; qu'elles prennent du tabac en poudre comme des Espagnols, et que dans peu elles fumeront comme des Suisses," &c. &c.

That women were sometimes mistaken for men at a later period, we find in one of Lady Suffolk's Letters, 1743. "She has been called *Sir*, upon the road above twenty times." "The Duchess's (of Queensberry) dress occasioned her being mistaken for a gentleman."

The following is from Lady Suffolk's Letters, 1728: "Mrs. Berkley drives herself in a chair in a morning gown, with a white apron, a white handkerchief pinned under her head like a nun, a black silk over that, and another white handkerchief over the hat."

A paragraph in one of Pope's Letters, thus speaks of the miseries of a maid of honour in 1714. "To eat Westphalia ham in a morning, ride over hedges and ditches on borrowed hacks, and come home in the heat of the day with a fever, and (what is worse a hundred times) with a red mark in the forehead from an uneasy *hat*; all this may qualify them to make excellent wives for fox-hunters," &c.

In Nugent's Travels, 1766, the Duchess of Mecklenberg Schwerin is described in a riding habit, with a bag-wig, and a *cocked hat* with a feather."—Again, (Letter XIX.) "The ladies also wear hats and bag-wigs."

The *high-crowned hat* seems long before the reign of Queen Anne to have been out of fashion, and looked upon with contempt. Ned Ward, who

[u] In referring to the "Dictionaire de l'Academie François," 1787, we find under the word *perruque*, "Les femmes en habit de chasse portent des perruques."

flourished at that period, mentions "a fantastic lady," who says to her husband,

"I verily believe you'd have me go
In high-crown'd hat and coif, like Gammer Crow."

In one of Dryden's plays, "The Wild Gallant," Madam Isabella calls the taylor's wife in contempt, "Steeple hat." On the other hand, the common people were against any of the new fashions introduced by their superiors, as the London Spy (by Ned Ward, 1709, 4th edit.) thus speaks of the fish-women, that "their chief clamour was against high heads and patches, and they said it would have been a very good law, if Queen Mary had effected her design, and brought the proud minks of the town to have worn high-crown'd hats instead of topknots." p. 41.

In the old "Norwich Gazette, or Loyal Packet," 1712, is the following advertisement, shewing the variety of materials then in use in the formation of the hat:—

"Leonard Hirst, haberdasher of hats, between the two half-moons in Norwich market-place, has choice of fine beavers, beaverets, Carolina beavers, superfine cloth hats, and felt hats of the newest fashion. He has also fine broad beavers for the clergy, and sells by wholesale and retale, as cheap as any one. He sells hat-shavings at 18 pence, and the finest at 20 pence, double roll, rims double and single, wood hats of all sorts, bongraces, bombles, and straw-hats."

The "Dictionnaire de Commerce," 1723, gives the different materials for the French straw hats:—

"Chapeau de paille. Espèce de chapeau fait de jonc, ou de paille de seigle, dont les artisans et le menu peuple se servent en été. Il y en a aussi de fins, et d'une forme singulière, qui le dames dans quelque provinces de France, portent au lieu de parasols, contre l'ardeur du soleil. Les uns et les autres sont en forme de tissus faits de ces legères metieres diversement mises en couleur. Ceaux pour les dames se doublent ordinairement de taffetas," &c.

I shall now proceed to give a few quotations from different works relating to the *straw hats*, or bonnets.

Among the collection of epigrams of Sir John Harrington, is one in commendation of a *straw hat* worn by a great lady at court.

"That *straw* which men, and beasts, and fowls have scorn'd,
Has been by curious art and hand industrious,
So wrought, that it hath shadow'd, yea adorn'd
A head and face, of beauty and birth illustrious."

Among the epigrams of Ben Jonson, there is one to Lady Mary Wroth on a *straw hat*.

"He that saw you wear the *wheaten hat*
Would call you more than Ceres, if not that:
And drest in shepherd's tire, who would not say
You were bright Œnone, Flora, or May?"

Straw hats were worn by peasants in the reign of Charles II.; the Count de Gramınont when at Tunbridge, says

"*Here*, young, fair, fresh-coloured country-girls, with clean linen, *small straw hats*, and neat shoes and stockings, sell game, vegetables, flowers, and fruit."

Gay, in his Shepherd's Week, (the Dirge, l. 125, 6.)

"My new *straw-hat*, that's trimly lin'd with green,
Let Peggy wear, for she 's a damsel clean."

The Gypsey hat which was worn by ladies about forty years since, was a large round bonnet, sometimes bent down on each side and fastened by ribbons under the chin. There is a curious Italian work, entitled "Habiti Antichi et Moderni di tutto il Mondo," 1589, with engravings of the costumes of all nations, and among them, is one of a gypsey apparently of a richer class than the vagrant of the present day, "Cingana Orientale, o' vera donna errante"—"che porta in capo una diadema accommodata di legno leggiero, coperta di fasce di seta, et d'oro di diversi colori con molta bell' opera," &c.

That the Quakers and the Puritans assumed a peculiar plainness of attire is too well known to require any comment, but the subject is mentioned in the following quotations in a manner which may make them not unworthy of insertion.

"A long vest and cloke of black, or some other grave colour, with a collar of plain linen called a *turnover*, and a broad band, with the hair closely cropped,

distinguished the men of every rank, and the ladies equally excluded lace, jewels, and braided locks." [x]

The following is from the works of Tom Brown, who lived during the reigns of William III. and Anne, till the year 1704.

"What have we here, old Mother *Shipton* of the second edition, with amendments; a close black hood over a pinched coif," &c. "A compleat *she-preacher,* fit to denounce *hell* and the *devil;* but for joys, and rewards, and the like, she looks them out of countenance."

In the Life and Actions of John Everett, 1729-30, we find "The Precisions, for the most part, though they are plain in their dress, wear the best of commodities, and though a smart toupie is an abomination, yet a bob, or a natural of six or seven guineas price, is a modest covering allowed of by the saints."

In the Old Norfolk papers, entitled the "Crossgroves News, 1739," is the following passage.

"London, May 10.—Several fine ladies who used to wear French silks, French hoops of four yards wide, *tête de mouton* heads, and white satten smock petticoats, are turned Methodists and followers of Mr. Whitfield, whose doctrine of the new birth has so prevailed over them, that they now wear plain stuff gowns, no hoops, common night-mobs, and old plain bays."

The female Quakers did not allow any ribbon to their bonnet or cap. In the "Memoires et Observations en Angleterre," 1698, is a curious engraving of a Quaker's meeting, representing men in hats, and the women in cuerpo hoods, with a female preacher standing on a tub with a *high-crowned hat* as a mark of distinction.

"Aussi-tôt que la prêcheuse apperçoit un ruban, la voilà saisie de son esprit et de sa fureur; elle monte sur quelque cuve renversee, avec son chapeau pointu et sa mine pleureuse; Elle soûpire—elle gémit—elle suffle—elle murmure; et puis elle débonde en galimatias."

A letter from Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, in 1655, to John Lord Finch, says, "As for the Countess, I can tell you heavie news of her, for she is

[x] Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, edited by Dallaway; vol. iii. p. 212.

turned Quaker, and preaches everie day in a tubb; your nephew George can tell you of her quaking, but her tubb-preaching is come since he went I believe; she, I believe, at last will prove an Adamite."[y]

Tom Brown has given us a minute or rather too sarcastic description of the Quakers, by saying—

"These are more just than the other Dissenters, because, as they pull not off their hats to God, so they pull them not off to men, whereas the others shall cringe and bow to any man they can get sixpence by, but ne'er vail the bonnet to God, by whom they may get *heaven*," &c.

Again, speaking of their dress:—

"A *long cravat* or *wig* in a man, or *high topping* and *lace* in a woman, they abominate as ensigns of vanity; but they will wear the best favours and richest silks, use the leather convenience, and be prouder in their plainness, than the haughtiest lady at court in their embroideries and jewels: their religion, indeed, seems chiefly in their clothes, and so they have more need of *taylors* than *teachers*," &c.

The Athenian Oracle says, "'Tis a great sin and error, that the levity and vanity of servants should aspire to an *equality* of *dress* with those that command."—"'Tis pride and singularity in the *Quakers* to affect a *different dress* from the world."

The following extracts may here be introduced from the "Lettres de Madame de Sévigné:"

"A Paris, samedi, 4 April, 1671.

"Je vous mandai l'autre jour la coiffure de Madame de Nevers, et dans quel excès la Martin avoit poussé cette mode; mails il y a une certaine médiocrité qui m'a charmée, et qu'il faut vous apprendre, à fin que vous ne vous amusièz plus à faire cent petites boucles sur vos oreilles, qui sont défrisées en un moment, qui siéent mal, et qui ne sont non plus à la mode présentement, que la coiffure de la reine Catherine de Medicis. Je vis hier la Duchesse de Sully et la Comtesse de Guiche, leurs têtes sont charmantes; je suis rendue, cette coiffure est faite justement pour votre visage; vous serez comme un ange, et cela est fait en un moment. Tout ce qui me fait de la peine, c'est que cette

[y] Archæologia, vol. xxi. 476.

mode, qui laisse la tête découverte, me fait craindre pour les dents. Voici ce qui *Trochanire,* (Madame de la Troche,) que vient de Saint Germain, et moi, nous allons vous faire entendre, si nous pouvons. Imaginez-vous une tête partagée a la paysanne jusqu'à deux doigts du bourrelet; on coupe les cheveux de chaque côte, d'étage en étage, dont on fait de grosses boucles rondes et négligées, qui ne viennent pas plus bas qu'un doigt au dessous de l'oreille; cela fait quelque chose de fort jeune et de fort joli, et comme deux gros bouquets de cheveux trop courts; car comme il faut les friser *naturellement,* les boucles qui en emportent beaucoup, ont attrapé plusieurs Dames, dont l'exemple doit faire trembler les autres. On met les rubans comme a l'ordinaire, et une grosse boucle nouée entre le bourrelet et la coiffure; quelquefois on la laisse traîner jusque sur la gorge. Je ne sais si nous vous avons bien représenté cette mode; je ferai coiffer une poupée pour vous l'envoyer; et puis, au bout de tout cela, je meurs de peur que vous ne vouliez point prendre toute cette peine. Ce qui est vrai, c'est que la coiffure que fait Montgobert, n'est plus supportable. Du reste, consultez votre paresse et vos dents; mais ne m'empêchez pas de souhaiter que je puisse vous voir coiffée ici comme les autres. Je vous vois, vous m'apparoissez, et cette coiffure est faite pour vous: mais qu'elle est ridicule à certaines Dames, dont l'age ou la beauté ne conviennent pas!"

And in a postscript is the following advice.

"Apres tout, nous ne vous conseillons point de faire couper vos beaux cheveux; et pour qui? bon Dieu! cette mode durera peu, et est mortelle pour les dents, taponnez-vous seulement par grosses boucles comme vous faisicz quelquefois; car les petites boucles rangées de Montgobert sont justement de tems du roi Guillemot."

Madame de Sevigné, in one of her letters (dated 27th April, 1672), says, that she found the Countess de Lude, "la Comtesse, qui pleuroit son mari: elle avoit un chapeau gris, qu'elle enfonçois dans l'excès de sa douleur; c'étoit une chose plaisante; je crois que jamais un chapeau ne s'est trouvé à pareille fête: j'aurois voulu ce jour-la mettre une coiffe ou une cornette." [z]

[z] "La Comtesse étoit grande chasseresse, et toujours vêtue en homme; elle passoit sa vie à la campagne."

In a letter dated 6th of September, 1677 :

" Je voudrois que vous vissiez jusqu'à quel excès la présence de Termes et de Flamarens fait monter la coiffure et l'adjustement de deux ou trois belles de ce pays. Enfin, des six heures du matin, tout est en l'air, coiffure *hurlupée*, poudrée, frisée, bonnet *à la bascule*, rouge, mouches, petite coiffe qui pend, eventail, corps de jupe long et serré ; c'est pour pâmer de rire."

In a letter dated the 2nd of February, 1689, she speaks of " Black owls," [a] a fashionable head-dress of that time :

" Vous avez donc eu quelque peur des pauvres petites *chouettes noires* je m'en doutai, et j'en ris en moi-même : vous trouverez qu'elles on *l'air triste ;* mais elles ne sont point *rechignées*, elles n'ont point *une voix de Mégère ;* et quand vous verrez ce qu'elles savent faire, vous trouverez qu'au lieu d'être de mauvais augure, elles font la beauté au moins de la coiffure."

We are left to conjecture whether this was the name of a head-dress, or an ornament of some kind which she was about to send her daughter.

In the letter dated December 25, 1689 :

" Votre belle sœur a *une souris*, [b] qui fait fort bien dans ses cheveux noirs."

In one of Shirley's plays, (the Ball, act I. sc. 2, 1632, 4to.) there is an allusion to the fashion of concealing a part of the forehead ; a small low forehead was at that period reckoned a beauty.

" *Ros.* But I have heard your tongue exalted much,
Highly commended.
" *Hon.* Not above your forehead,
When you have brush'd away the hairy penthouse,
And made it visible."

A curious poem by Evelyn, entitled " A Voyage to Marryland, or a Ladies Dressing room," 1690, describes the different articles that a beau must provide for his mistress. I shall confine myself to the head-dress only in the following quotation ;—Evelyn has also given an explanation of the different terms, in his *Fop's Dictionary.*

[a] " Voyez la Fable de *l'Ægle et du Hibou*, par la Fontaine."

[b] The name of a fashion.

" *Calembuc* combs in *pulvil* case
To set and trim the hair and face:
And that the cheeks may both agree,
Plumpers to fill the cavity.
The *settée, cupée,* place aright,
Frelange, fontange, favorite;
Monté la haute, and *palisade,*
Sorti, flandan (great helps to trade),
Bourgoigne, jardiné, cornett.
Frilal next upper painer set,
Round which it does our ladies please,
To spread the hood called *rayonnés:*
Behind the noddle every baggage
Wears bundle *choux,* in English cabbage:
Nor *cruches* she, nor *confidents,*
Nor *passages,* nor *bergers* wants;
And when this grace Nature denies,
An artificial *tour* supplies;
All which with *meurtriers* unite,
And *creve-cœurs,* silly fops to smite," &c.[e]

c " *Calumbuc*—A certain precious wood, of an agreeable scent, brought from the Indies.

" *Polvil*—The Portugal term for the most exquisite powders and perfumes.

" *Plumpers*—Certain very thin, round, and light balls, to plump up and fill up the cavities of the cheeks, much used by old court countesses.

" *Settee*—Is only a double pinner.—Ladyes Dictionary, 1694.

" *Cupée*—Is a pinner that hangs close to the head. *ib.*

" *Frelan*—Bonnet and pinner together.

" *Fontange*—The top-knot, so called from Mademoiselle de Fontange, one of the French king's mistresses, who first wore it.

" *Favorites*—Locks dangling on the temples.

" *Monté la haut*—Certain degrees of wire to raise the dress.

" *Palisade*—A wire sustaining the hair next the dutchess, or first knot.

" *Sorti*—A little knot of small ribbon, peeping out between the pinner and bonnet.

"The Ladies Dictionary," 1694, under the article "Apparel," gives a full explanation of these names. At the end of which are the following words. "Thus much for the *dress*, but there are yet other things necessary for a *ladies*

"*Flandan*—A kind of pinner joining with the bonnet.
"*Buorgoigne*—The first part of the dress for the head next the hair.
"*Jardinée*—That single pinner next the burgoigne.
"*Cornet*—The upper pinner, dangling about the cheeks like hound's ears.
"*Frilal*—
"*Rayonnée*—Upper hood, pinned in circle, like the sun-beams.
"*Choux*—The great round boss or bundle resembling a cabbage.
"*Cruches*—Certain small curles placed on the forehead.
"*Confidants*—Smaller curles near the eares.
"*Passagere*—A curled lock next the temples.
"*Berger*—A small lock (a la sheperdesse) turned up with a puff.
"*Tour*—An artificial dress of hair on the forehead, &c.
"*Meurtriers*—Murderers, a certain knot in the hair, which ties and unite the curls.
"*Creve-cœur*—Heart-breakers, the two small curled locks at the nape of the neck.

To which a few other words from the "Fop's Dictionary" may be added.

"*Mouches*—Flies, or black patches by the vulgar.
"*Firmanent*—Diamonds or other precious stones heading the pins, which they stick in the tour or hair like stars.
"*Ruffles*—By our forefathers called cuffs.
"*Duchess*—A knot next the hair, immediately above the tour, &c.
"*Commode*—A frame of wire covered with silk, on which the whole head attire is adjusted at once upon a bust; or properly of wood carved to the breast, like that which perruque-makers set upon their stalls.*
"*Mouchoire*—It were rude, vulgar, and unseemly to call it handkerchief.
"*Engageants*—Deep double ruffles hanging down to the wrists.
"*Echelles*—A pectoral, or stomacher, laced with ribbon like the rounds of a ladder."

* In the "Ladies Dictionary," 1694, it is thus explained; "A frame of wire, two or three stories high, fitted for the head, or covered with tiffany, or other thin silks; being now completed into the whole head-dress."

In the early French dictionaries, we meet with the word *Commode* as applied to the head-dress, from which it appears to have been out of fashion before 1761, as "Le Grand Dictionaire Français et Flamand," says, "sorte de coiffure de femme, que *n'est plus en usage*."

dressing room; which have such odd names, that a *raw lass* being entertain'd in service, and hearing her mistress one day call for some of them, she was so far from bringing any, that she verily took her to be *conjuring*, and hastily ran out of the house, for fear she should raise the devil."

Again in page 425:

"'Twould make a dog split his halter to hear the learned cant between the mistress and maid, when about the important affair of adjusting her ladyship's *array* on a morning; you'd swear they were conjuring, they sputter out such a confus'd jargon of hard words, such a hotch-potch of mongrel gibberish: 'Bring me my *palisade* there,' quoth madam: you'd think she were going to encamp. 'Will it not be convenient to attack your *flandan* first?' says the maid. More anger yet? still military terms? 'Let me see,' says Madam, 'where's my *cornet?* Pray *carine* this *favourite:*' so, so, good words; now there's some hopes of peace, till the blustering *Frilan* and *Burgoign* are called for, and then the old catterwawling begins again? There is a clack of *settees, passes, monté la hauts, crotches,* and other trinkums, would make a man suspect they are raising the devil: at last comes the *sur les fronts,* and then Madam is completely harnessed for the play," &c.

In "Le Theatre Italien," (by Gherardi) in a satire upon the number of French names of fashions, there is a list of books, describing the "Bibliothèque des sots,—Dictionaire in folio, qui contient les principales pièces qui composent la coeffure d'une femme."

One of the most fantastic fashions, which began previous to the year 1683, was the *fontange,* which is explained in "La Dictionaire de l'Academie Françoise," 1787. "Nœud de rubans que les femmes portent sur leur coiffure, et qui tire son nom de Madame de Fontange."

Specimens of them are chiefly to be found in prints, but very rarely in those taken from family portraits. I have not met with any except in two prints of Mary II. One is a large engraving very highly finished, the head-dress covered with rich lace mixed with several pieces of striped ribbons. The other is a smaller print (by *G. Valck,*) with a lofty head-dress. There was lately to be seen a specimen of the fontange in Westminster Abbey, among the wax-work, commonly called the *ragged regiment.* The following quotation

from the Athenian Oracle, may explain why the fontanges or top-knots are rarely to be found in family portraits.

" *Question* ?—Whether *top-knots* are not unlawful? at least very inconvenient, considering their trouble in riding, &c. and not very graceful neither; for there are few ladies, as well as they love them, who care to have their pictures drawn with them.

"*Answer*.—There will be work enough about them shortly, whereof we shall perhaps trouble the world with an advertisement, and therefore we'll not forestall the market, but leave the ladies themselves to plead their own *dearly beloveds*."

In the Ladies' Dictionary, under the article " Topknot," is a dialogue between *Nature* and a *Lady*. The Lady says, " In what array did the Dauphiness appear last ball? I am told, my *commode* is a tire too low, as they adjust it at the French Court."

" *Nature*.—Am I a-dreamed, or has the multitude of years impaired my sight and judgment? The voice is woman's, but in the *prating figure*, I want a name; I see a moving pyramid of gayeties, a walking toyshop, a speaking gallimaufry of ribbons, laces, silk, and jewels, as if some upstart mimick Nature had been at work on purpose to upbraid my skill, and tell me, that in forming woman, I have left out the essentials," &c. &c. Again, speaking of the Lady's head-dress, " Do regard her rigging above deck, and you'd swear she carries Bow steeple upon her head, or the famous tower of Severus in Rome, in which was built seven ranks of pillars one above another. Such a lofty gradation of topknots, if it proceeds, will befriend the carpenters and bricklayers, for our gentry and tradesmen in time will be forced to pull down their low-pitch'd houses, and take the height of the stories in the next structure from the elevated pageant of trinkets on their wives' and daughters' heads, lest these fine trappings should be kidnapp'd from their empty noddles by an unmannerly brush of the saucy ceilings," &c. &c. The Lady says, " I am resolved to be in the mode, though it should put me to the charge of maintaining a negro to support the *monumental umbrella* on my head."

There is a work which contains several engravings of the coronation of James II. in 1685; and at the end, a single plate (in the Blickling Library) of the coronation of William and Mary in 1689, representing several ladies, but not

one with a *fontange*, a dress probably considered too absurd and fantastic for so solemn a ceremony.

The following extracts from " Le Theatre Italien di Gherardi," a collection of French plays composed between 1682 and 1697, allude to this style of dress.

" Moi ! que je demeure d'avantage dans Paris, dans ce tripot eternel, ou les femmes sont des ripopés de jeu et de coquetterie ? Et comment y feroit-il sûr pour les hommes, quand les oiseaux sont a peine en sûreté dans l'air, contre les attentats des coîffures des femmes." Vol. ii. 313.—Again,

" *Mezz.*—Comment nommez-vous ces obelisques que les femmes d'ici ont sur leurs tetes ?

" *M. Gr.*—Elles appelent cela des palissades," &c. (Vol. ii. 341.)

In the play " La Fille Savante," Isabella dresses herself as a " capitaine d'infanterie," says " O ça, de bonne foi, mon pere, ne conviendrez vous pas qu'un chapeau retroussé me coîffe infiniment mieux, qu'un attirail impertinent de rubans et de cornettes ? qu'une plume a toute autre grace que les montagnes de rayons qui allongent la taille des femmes ? " Vol. iii. 70.

" *Le Comte.*—Je veux qu'elle soit propre, mais je ne veux pas qu'elle soit etalée comme la maitresse d'un vieux abbé. Je consens qu'elle soit coîffée avec des pallisades et des rayons ; mais je ne veux pas qu'elle se coîffe aussi haut qu'une marchande de la foire." Vol. v. 218.

Page 227 speaks of " une coîffure à triple étage rend d'une taille gigantesque," &c.

The *fontange* was frequently condemned by the clergy. In one of the sermons (on several occasions) by John Edwards, 1698, is the following passage:

" This is the daring pride which reigns among our very ordinary women at this day, they think themselves highly advanced by this climbing foretop. All their rigging is nothing worth without this wagging topsail; and, in defiance of our Saviour's words, endeavour, as it were, to add *a cubit* to their stature. With their exalted heads they do, as it were, attempt a superiority over mankind; nay, these Babel-builders seem with their lofty towers to threaten the skies, and even to defy heaven itself." In another place in the same discourse, the author gives the ladies the following caution, that " especially upon days of fasting and humiliation you would wholly lay aside your gawdy dress. It is

fitting at such a time that you should lower your topsails, and strike your flags."

Horace Walpole mentions, that about the year 1714, Louis XIV. admired the superior taste of the low head-dress of two English ladies; in consequence of which, the ladies of his court immediately began to adopt the new form. But it appears by the following quotation from "A Supplement to the first part of the Gentlemen Instructed, with a word to the Ladies, 1708," that the change in the lofty head-dress was begun before 1714.

"The received fresh advice that the French King had forbid the wearing of gold lace, and that all below a countess lay under a prohibition; that he had clipt commodes, and taken the sex a story lower; that the Dutchess of *Burgundy* immediately undrest, and appeared in a *fontange* of the new standard; that his Majesty had a design against topknots," &c.

Again, in p. 38, the writer shows how a fine lady spends her time at her toilet: "And now her ladyship brandishes the combs, and the powders raise clouds in the apartment. She trims up the *commode*; she places it ten times; unplaces it as often, without being so fortunate as to hit upon y^e^ critical point; she models it to all systems, but is pleased with none. For you must know, some ladies fancy a vertical, others an horizontal situation; others dress by y^e^ northern latitude, and others lower its point to forty-five degrees," &c.

Page 108 mentions how much better the ladies might employ their time. "At *Paris*, I have seen the topping ladies of the court, in *l'Hotel Dieu*, help and comfort the sick with great charity. They refresh'd those poor creatures not only with words, but with cordials and julips. I could wish the *mode* would sail into *England*. It edifies, I am sure, and would become quality, and sit as gentilely on ladies as *French fontanges*."

There is a whole paper in the Spectator (No. 98), 1711, which relates entirely to the female head-dress, too well known to require insertion, but it seems to point out the date of the lofty *head-dress*. "About ten years ago (*i. e.* in 1701) it shot up to a great height," &c. &c. "I remember several ladies who were once near seven foot high, that at present want some inches of five," &c.[d]

[d] A paper in the Spectator says of Paradin's History of Lyons, that it mentioned the *Fontange*. This is an anachronism, as the history was published nearly a century before Madame Fontange was born.

A similar observation occurs in the " Lettres Persanes," 1717. " Quelquefois les coeffures montent insensiblement, et une revolution les fait descendre tout à coup. Il a été un tems que leur hauteur immense mettoit le visage d'une femme au milieu d'elle-même ; dans un autre, c'étoit les pieds qui occupoient cette place, les talons faisoient un piedestal qui les tenoit en l'air. Qui pourroit le croire ? Les Architectes ont été souvent obligés de hausser, de baisser et d'elargir les portes, selon que les parures des femmes exigeoient d'eux ce changement, et les régles de leur art ont été asservies a ces fantaisies."

Addison (who died in 1719) thus mentions the *Fontange*, " Those old Fontanges rose an ell above the head. They were pointed like steeples, and had the long loose pieces of crape, which were fringed and hung down their backs." —(Johnson's Dictionary.)

During the reigns of William III. and Anne, we find that ladies sometimes wore plumes of feathers piled up in stages. There is a good specimen in a print of Lady Mary Radcliffe, who is represented with two tiers of ostrich feathers with a tuft above. (Pl. IX. fig. 21.)

In an additional volume of the Spectator (No. 20), dated 1715, this fashion of wearing a quantity of feathers is satirized :

" I pretend not to draw the single *quill* against that immense crop of *plumes*, which is already risen to an amazing height, and unless timely sing'd by the bright eyes that glitter underneath, will shortly be able to overshadow them. Lady *Porcupine's* commode is started at least a *foot and a half* since Sunday last," &c. Again, " In what condition the *feather manufacture* now stands, shall be inquired at leisure."—" But so long as the commodity circulates, and the outside of a fine lady's *head* is converted into the inside of her *pillow*, or if fate so order it, to the top of her *herse*, there is no harm in the consumption ; and both the *milliner*, *upholsterer*, and *undertaker* may live in an amical correspondence, and mutual dependence on each other."

In the periodical papers of the middle of the last century, there are many observations made on the fashions of ladies' head-dresses, a few of which I have copied as illustrative of the subject and of the sketches accompanying these remarks.

In the *World*, (a periodical paper, 1753) there is a letter condemning the

ladies for wearing their *hats* in the church during divine service, as transgressing against the laws of decency and decorum.[e]

In the same work, (No. 39) is a letter which describes the bad taste of a lady who has " a most disconsolate length of face, which she makes absolutely frightful by wearing the poke of her cap quite back to her pole."

No. 66, speaks of caps from the size of a China plate having dwindled away to the breadth of a half-crown, and then entirely vanished.—Again,

In No. 88, " They wear no cap, and only substitute in its room " variety of trumpery ribbands, tied up with no other propriety than the present fit shall happen to direct."

The Connoisseur, No. 36, (1754) mentions that " of all the branches of female dress no one has undergone more alterations than that of the head. The long lappets, the *horse-shoe cap*, (see Pl. X.) the *Brussels-head*, and the prudish *mob* pinned under the chin, have all of them had their day. The present mode has rooted out all these superfluous excrescences, and in the room of a slip of cambrick or lace, has planted a whimsical sprig of spangles or artificial flowrets, &c." And again, " If the caps have passed through many metamorphoses, no less a change has been brought about in the other coverings contrived for the head. The diminutive high-crowned hat, the bonnet, the hive, and the milk-maid chip-hat, were rescued for a time from old women and servant girls, to adorn the heads of the first fashion. Nor was the method of cocking hats less fluctuating, till they were at length

e This is a strange contradiction to the rule so universally allowed from the earliest times of the Apostles, of the propriety of women being covered in the churches, an allusion to which we find in Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, (vol. v. 267). that the men " prayed with the head uncovered, according to the Apostles' direction, as esteeming it a great indecency to do otherwise." " Tertullian adds another reason in his Apology to the Gentiles. We pray uncovered, because we are not ashamed to appear with open faces; making a sort of testimony and symbol of their innocency in their addressing God without covering. On the other hand, as both nature and custom had made it decent for *women* to be covered, so they were precise in requiring this to be observed, especially in religious assemblies," &c.

Again—In the arraignment of Anne Turner, at the King's Bench, in 1615, on the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, " The Lord Chief Justice told her that women must be covered in the church, but not when they are arraigned, and so caused her to put off her hat; which done, she covered her hair with her handkerchief, being before dressed in her hair, and her hat over it."

settled to the present mode; by which it is ordered, that every hat, whether of straw or silk, whether of the chambermaid or mistress, must have their flaps turned up perpendicularly both before and behind (see Pl. X.) If the end of a fine lady's dress was not rather ornamental than useful, we should think it a little odd, that hats, which seem naturally intended to screen their faces from the heat or severity of the weather, should be moulded into a shape that prevents their answering either of these purposes: but we must, indeed, allow it to be highly ornamental, as the present hats worn by the women are more bold and impudent than the broad-brimmed staring *Kevenhullers* worn a few years ago by the men. These hats are also decorated with two waving pendants of ribband, hanging down from the brim on the left side," &c.

No. 77, mentions a female wearing "*a hat smartly cocked up behind and before* in Broad Saint Giles," &c. (see Pl. X.)

No. 112 is a letter, describing the fashion of a lady's head-dress in 1756, "that instead of a cap, the present mode is for every female to load her head with some kind of carriage," &c. Again, "The curiosity I had of knowing the purport of this invention, and the general name of these machines, led me to make enquiry about them of a fashionable milliner, at the court end of the town. She obliges me with a sight of one of these equipages, designed for the head of a lady of quality, which I surveyed with much admiration, and placing it on the palm of my hand, could not help fancying myself *Gulliver* taking up the Empress of *Lilliput* in her state-coach. The vehicle itself was constructed of gold threads, and was drawn by six dapple greys of blown glass, with a coachman, postillion, and gentleman within, of the same brittle manufacture," &c.

The milliners called them *cabrioles* or *caprioles*—"a polite female would no more fix her affections on a man who drives but a beggarly pair, than she would be contented with being tumbled down to his country seat, like Punch's wife to *Rumford*, in a wheelbarrow."

There is a poem called a "Modern Morning." Celia says to her maid,

"Nelly! where is the creature fled?
Put my *post-chaise* upon my head."
"Your chair and chairman, Mame, is brought," &c.

The same poem speaks of ladies wearing the *broad-wheel'd waggon* as an improvement to the above fashion (see Pl. X.)[f]

In a note, "*Post-chaise*—Be it remembered, that in the year 1756, many ladies of fortune and fashion, willing to set an example of prudence and economy to their inferiors, did invent, and make public, without a patent, a machine for the head, in form of a *post-chaise and horses*. And another imitating a *chair and chairman*, which were frequently worn by people of distinction. I have been more particular in noting the exact time of the rise of this invention, first, because no foreigner should attempt to rob us of the honour of it, and secondly, that it may serve as an æra or epocha to future chronologers."[g]

Bulwer, in his "Artificial Changling," has given us a curious wood-cut of a lady wearing a variety of *patches*, one of which is the form of a carriage and horses (see Pl. IX. fig. 11). From the various passages of early writers relating to patches, a few quotations may be deemed worthy of notice. The following is from the Ladies' Dictionary, p. 362.

"They had no doubt got a room in the *Chronicles* among the prodigious and monstrous births, had they been born with *moons, stars, crosses, lozenges*, upon their cheeks; especially had they brought into the world with them a *coach and horses*."

In "Wit Restored," 1658, is a poem, entitled, "The Bursse of Reformation."

"Her patches are of every cut,
For pimples and for scarrs,
Here's all the wandring planett signes,
And some o' th' fixed starrs,
Already gum'd to make them stick,
They need no other sky,
Nor starrs for *Lilly* for to veiw
To tell your fortunes by," &c.

The "Memoires et Observations, &c. en Angleterre," 1698, mention

[f] The sketches at the bottom of Plate X. (one head excepted) are taken from the drawings of my late father, who was a great observer of the fashions of his time.

[g] Wise Men's Wonderful Discoveries.

" L'usage des *Mouches* n'est pas inconnu aux Dames de France, mais il faut être jeune et jolie. En Angleterre, jeunes, vieilles, belles, laides, tout est *emmouché* jusqu' à la decrepitude; j'ai plusieurs fois compté quinze mouches et davantage, sur la noire et ridée face d'une vieille de soixante et dix ans. Les Angloises raffinent ainsi sur nos modes."

The "Lettres Persanes," 1717, says,

" Le role d'un jolie femme est beaucoup plus grave que l'on ne pense; il n'y a rien de plus serieux que ce qui se passe le matin à sa toilette, au milieu de ses domestiques; un General d'Armée n'emploie pas plus d'attention à placer sa droite, ou son corps de reserve, qu'elle en met à placer une *mouche* qui peut manquer; mais dont elle espére ou prévoit le succés."

In the Spectator, No. 323, is a Journal of a Lady.

" From 8 to 9, shifted a patch for half an hour before I could determine it. Fixed it above my left eye-brow."

Again, in No. 81, is an account of ladies being divided into parties, as Whigs and Tories, by the wearing of patches, those spotted on the right side of the forehead being distinguished from those who placed them on the left.

Who has ever heard of *white* patches on a black face, as thus described in Lovelace's " Posthumous Poems," 1650.

" But as a Moor, who to her cheeks prefers
White spots t' allure her black idolaters,
Methought she look'd all o'er bepatch'd with stars."

The Spectator mentions that patches were worn by men; this is also mentioned by Gherardi in the following lines.

" Que les jeunes gens de bel air sont par les plaisirs, par les mines, par les promenades, par les *mouches*, et par les manières, moins hommes que femmes." vol. vi. 322.

The Athenian Mercury, (1693) by John Dunton, speaks of a " whole *box-full* of *half-moons* and *lozenges*."

The following is from the London Chronicle for 1762, (vol. xi. 167) on the History of Fashions.

" *The French Night-cap.*—Our fine women have by covering their cheeks by this fashion, put their faces into an eclipse. Each lady, when dressed in this mode, can only peep under the lace border. Perhaps, they are intended like

blinds to a horse's head harness, to teach ladies to look forward. A good hint, however. It has been whispered, indeed, that this mode is an introduction to Popery, it is to bring in the veil by and by, a sort of trial to see how our English Toasts will take it.

" Some ill-natured persons, indeed, go so far as to say, that every woman who wears these visage-covers, has done something she should be a little ashamed of, and, therefore, don't care to shew much of her face.

" *The Ranelagh Mob;* or the *Hood* from Low Life.

" This is a piece of gauze, minionett, catgutt, or Leicester webb, &c. which is clouted about the head, then crossed under the chin, and brought back to fasten behind, the two ends hanging down like a pair of pigeon's tails.

" This fashion is copied from the silk handkerchiefs, which market women tie over their ears, roll about their throats, and then pin up the nape of their necks.

" They were first wore in the Inner Square of Covent Garden Market, among the green-stalls; it was from thence introduced into the outward squares or piazza's, among the stalls there.

" Mrs. Douglas (of procuring memory) who was a very great market-woman in her way, was the first who made a Scotch-lawn double neckhandkerchief into the mob abovementioned. Her female boarders would do as the mistress did, to be sure, and after a little cut and contrivance, away they whisked in them to Ranelagh.

" The ladies of fashion there, who sometimes dress almost like ladies of the town, immediately took the hint. The fashion flew abroad upon the wings of whim, and, as Schioppius observes, instantly spread itself over the face of the land.

" *The Mary Queen of Scots' Cap* (Pl. VIII. fig. 15), edged down the face with French beads, was very becoming to some complexions; but as the cap was made of black gauze, and saved washing, it has too much housewifery in it, ever to be immense taste.

" *The Fly Cap.*—This is fixed upon the forehead, forming the figure of an overgrown butterfly, resting upon its head, with outstretched wings; 'tis much worn at present, not that it either adds to the colour or outlines of the face; but, as their caps are edged with garnets, topazes, or brilliants, they are very

sparkling, and a side-box-appearance is not now altogether the consultation of elegance, but ornament.

" Therefore, those ladies who make the most show, are looked upon to be the finest women.

" It is become a very interesting dispute among the connoiseurs in general, whether the present turban roll, which is now wore round the Mecklenburgh caps, was taken from the Ægyptian fillet, the Persian tiara, or Wreath round the eldest Faustina's temples?"

Goldsmith, describing his "Cousin Hannah" (aged 66), says that "her cap, if cap it might be called that cap was none, consisted of a few bits of cambric, and flowers of painted paper, stuck on one side of the head."

The fear of having trespassed too much upon the patience of the Society, makes me unwilling to extend my observations to the various fashions of dressing the hair; yet a few quotations may not be deemed unworthy of notice by those who have so far favoured me as to bestow their time upon the foregoing observations; for, however curious it may be to trace the various fancies and fashions of our ancestors in the invention of the head-dress, the disposal of that ornament which has been bestowed by nature upon the fair sex, must always be of more interest than the artificial adornment which can be constructed by human invention. I begin with the reign of Henry VII. On viewing the various pictures of head-dresses of that date, and during the greater part of the reign of Henry VIII., it appears that the hair was hardly visible, or, if seen, it was parted on the forehead and uncurled; this fashion continued as late as the end of Henry VIII., as worn by Catharine Parr (see Pl. VII. fig. 24).

In the reign of Mary, the hair was still parted, but was arranged in a different manner (see her portrait in fig. 52,) and this continued till as late as the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, (see specimens in Pl. VIII. figs. 9, 11 & 15,) but before the end of her reign, the hair was made to stick up and curled, and sometimes formed into a circle or an oval (see Pl. VIII. figs. 3, 4, 10, 12, 20, 31 & 32). This bad taste continued during the whole reign of James I. Figs. 21 and 22 are head-dresses, as worn in Italy.[h]

[h] Even the whole dress worn in the *beginning* of Elizabeth's reign was superior in taste to that of James I. Fig. 12, from Fox's Book of Martyrs, may be compared with fig. 13, from a print in Roland Furieux, 1619.

But soon after that period, and during a great part of the reign of Charles I. the hair was arranged with better taste, consisting of many small curls, hanging down on each side of the face, combed from the forehead and braided into a knot at the back of the head, which knot was frequently ornamented with jewels and pearls; and sometimes a black or a white feather was placed to hang down on one side (Pl. VIII. fig. 15); it is likewise to be seen in the portraits of Dorothy Countess of Suffolk, M. Countess of Essex, and as late as 1656, by Beatrix de Cusance; but soon after, and during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. the hair was made either to hang in long curls resembling corkscrews, or with long locks flowing down below the shoulders as in fig. 16 and 18; or it was cut short, and curled in rich clusters, as in fig. 17.

Among several religious plays, one of the most remarkable is "The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalen," 1567, from whence is taken the following quotation relating to her head-dress.

> "Your haire, me thynke, is as yellow as any gold;
> Upon your face layd about have it I wold;
> Sometime on your forehead the breadth of a hand;
> Sometime let your attire upon your crowne stand,
> That all your haire for the most part may be in sight.
> To many a man a fayre haire is a great delight.
> In summer time now and then to keep away flies,
> Let none of that fayre haire hang in your eies.
> With a hotte nedle you shall learne it to crispe,
> That it may curle together in manner like a wispe."[i]

Stubbes makes the following complaint of the female hair as worn in 1585: —"Then follow the trimming and tricking of their heades, in laying out their haire to shewe, which of force must be curled, frisled, and crisped, laid out (a world to see) on wreathes and borders, from one ear to the other. And least it should fall down, it is underpropped with forks, wiers, and I cannot tell what, like grim sterne monsters, rather than chaste Christian matrones. Then on the edges of their boulstred haire, (for it standeth crested rounde about their frontiers, and hanging over their faces like pendices or vailes, with glass windowes on every side,) there is laid great wreathes of golde and silver curiously wrought, and cunningly applied to the temple of their heades. And for feare

[i] Collier's Annals, vol. ii. 243.

of lacking any thinge to set forth their pride withall, at their haire thus wreathed and crested, are hanged *bugles* (I dare not say *bables*), *ouches, rynges, gold, silver, glasses,* and such other childishe gewgawes," &c.

Many readers have heard of Prynne's curious work entitled " The Unlovelinesse of Love-lockes," 1628, but few have seen the book itself, and very few, I believe, have had the patience to read it through. It is a long, dull, prosy work. He speaks of the " womanish, sinfull, and unmanly crisping, curling, frounching, powdering, and nourishing of their locks and hairie excrements ;" and again, " to frizle, powder, nourish, and set out our haire and lockes in the most lascivious, amorous, proud, effeminate, ruffianly, and vainglorious manner, &c. ; or to hear the illiberal abuse against the fair sex for cutting off their hair, as audacious, brazen-faced, shamelesse (if not unchaste and whorish) English hermaphrodites, or man-women monsters, whose prodigious and blushlesse impudency bids battle and defiance unto Heaven itselfe, and dares the Lord to smite or to controule them."

The love-lock was a single lock hanging on one side, and sometimes ornamented by a ribbon, as in the portrait of the Duchess of Richmond by Vandyck. The Lady E. Shirley has a long braided lock on one side, and ornamented with pearls twisted round.

The poets in their writings give the preference to the female hair when allowed to flow naturally, as in the following quotations.

The first from Chalkhill's Thealma and Clearchus.[k]

———" her loose haire
Hung on her shoulders sporting with the air,
Her brow a coronet of rose-buds crown'd,
With loving woodbine's sweet embraces bound,
Two globe-like pearls were pendents to her ears,
And on her breast a costly gem she wears."

Even braiding the hair seems to be condemned, as from the following passage in Lovelace's Lucasta (printed in 1649).

" Amarantha, sweet and fair,
Oh, braid no more that shining hair !
* * * *
* * * *

[k] Published by Isaak Walton.

" Let it fly as unconfined
As its calm ravisher, the wind,
Who has left his darling th' east
To wanton o'er that spicy nest.

" Ev'ry tress must be confest
But neatly tangled at the best;
Like a clue of golden thread,
Most excellently ravelled.

" Do not then wind up that light
In ribands, and o'er-cloud in night,
Like the sun in 's early ray,
But shake your head and scatter day."

Hamilton, in his Memoirs of the Count de Grammont, has given a spirited account of his sister. " Her forehead was open, white, and smooth; her hair was well set, and fell with ease in that natural order which is difficult to imitate."

The same author thus gives a description of a country wedding:—" The little that was seen of the bride's face appeared not without beauty; but no judgment could be formed of the remainder. Four dozen of patches, at least, and ten ringlets of hair on each side, most completely concealed her from all human eyes."

Lady W. Montague, describing in one of her letters the coronation of 1727, says, " the poor Duchess of M***se crept along with a dozen of black snakes playing round her face."

In former times a distinction appears to have been made between the head-dresses of married and single ladies, the latter being uncovered. On one side of the tomb in Hedingham church, four ladies are represented kneeling. Three of them have caps; two have the ring on the wedding finger, the third has the ring on the forefinger (see Pl. VII. fig. 4), but the fourth has no ring, and her hair hanging down, confined only by a fillet ornamented with jewels (see fig. 5).

In the ceremony of marriage in former days, the bride walked to church with her hair hanging loose behind. A plate in Walpole's Anecdotes of Paint-

ing represents the marriage of Henry VI., where not only the bride, but also the bride's-maid is seen with dishevelled hair. The hair of Ann Boleyn is likewise so described when she went to the altar with Henry VIII.

On the marriage of Carr, Earl of Somerset, with the daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, "the bride was married in her hair, that is, with her hair hanging loosely down, as the Princess Elizabeth had been."

In the "*White Devil,* or *Vittoria Corombona,*" by Webster, 1612—

"Come, come, my lord, untie your folded thoughts,
And let them dangle loose, as a *bride's hair.*"

Anne of Cleves on the day of her marriage was "attired in cloth of gold embroidered with flowers in pearl, on her head a coronet of gold and precious stones, set full of branches of rosemary. Her long *yellow hair,* no longer confined by a caul, hung over her shoulders."—The Loseley MSS. edited by A. J. Kempe, Esq.

In former days, yellow hair was reckoned a great beauty; it is frequently mentioned by early writers, and still to be found in old paintings:

"The *her* schon upon her hed
As golde wyre that schynyth bryght."

Romaunce de Launfal.

Again:

——"Hur fayre faxe
That was yelowe as the waxe,
And schone also as gold redd."

Le Bone Florence of Rome.

From the reign of Charles II. to Queen Anne, a fine long head of hair was considered a great ornament to the female head, and frequently fetched a high price, and was often sold by women of inferior fortune, particularly at a time when perriwigs were worn by gentlemen of rank and wealth. It is said of the Countess of Suffolk, who married Mr. Howard in the reign of Queen Anne, "She and her husband were so poor, she was forced to sell her hair (to furnish a dinner for some friends). Long wigs were then in fashion, and her hair being fine, long, and fair, produced twenty pounds." Mirror, vol. xv. 192.

The enormous wigs of the beaux were a constant subject of ridicule to the writers of the day. Tom Brown, in his Letters from the Dead to the Living,

speaks of a person who complained against a weaver of hair for cheating him in a wig. He was recommended to the Chelmsford barber, who has nineteen unmarried daughters, who are virtuous girls, "besides, all the clergy round him are his customers, because he makes up their wigs without any mixture of other hair." This barber once in four years "mows the family round, never failing of a plentiful crop; much about this time, I reckon, his harvest is ripe, and all the neighbouring gentlemen are flocking to bespeak their perriwigs; some are fair girls, some brown, some black, so that he can mix up a colour to suit any complexion." (Vol. ii. 176-8.)

Even in the time of Queen Anne[1] and George I. wigs were considered of some value, and liable to be stolen. Gay, in his Trivia, gives the following warning concerning them:—

> "Nor is the flaxen wig with safety worn;
> High on the shoulder, in a basket born,
> Lurks the sly boy, whose hands to rapine bred,
> Plucks off the curling honours of thy head."

But perriwigs were not worn by gentlemen alone, for they had long before

[1] The following quotation gives a curious specimen of a fine gentleman in the time of Queen Anne, from "The Levellers, a Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony," edit. 1703. Harl. Misc. vol. xi.—"They (the men) sit in monstrous long perukes, like so many owls in ivy-bushes; and esteem themselves more upon the reputation of being a beau, than on the substantial qualifications of honour, courage, learning, and judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourself at a gossipping at Dover, or that you heard the learned confabulation of the boys in the piazzas of Christ's Hospital. Did you ever see a creature more ridiculous than that stake of human nature which dined the other day at our house, with his *great long wig to cover his head and face*, which was no bigger than a Hackney-turnip, and much of the same form and shape? Bless me, how it looked! just like a great platter of French soup with a little bit of flesh in the middle. Did you mark the beau tiff of his wig, what a deal of pains he took to toss it back, when the very weight thereof was like to draw him from his seat? Did you not take notice how he replenished his snout with snuff, and what pains he took to let us know that it is Vigo? Did you not wonder at his learned discourse of the women's accoutrements, from the top knot to the laced shoe; and what lectures he read on the fan, masque, and gloves? He understood ribbons and silk, as well as a milliner and mercer, and was a perfect chemist in beauty-washes and essences," &c.

In the additional volume of the Spectator (No. 20) 1715. We find "that Beau Hatchet made so wretched a figure about seven years ago, with his *three inches of face diameter*, under the intolerable *load of perriwig*, which was then imposed upon the necks of our people."

this period been used by ladies, as in a letter of Knollys to Cecil, published in Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots—

" So that now here are six waiting women, although none of reputation but Mistress Mary Seaton, who is praised by this Queen to be the finest *busker* that is to say, the finest dresser of a woman's head of hair, that is to be seen in any country; whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither, and among other prettie devices, yesterday, and this day, she did set a curled hair upon the Queen that was said to be a *perewyke*, that shewed very delicately; and every other day she has a new device of head-dressing, without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gailie well."

This *perewyke* of Mary's I conceive to have been mere ringlets of false hair, for we know that it was the fashion of those days to wear borrowed locks, and of different colour. Mary's hair was black. Again, " Hentzner describes Queen Elizabeth that she wore *false hair*, and that *red*. The ladies *dyed* their hair of various colours, but particularly of a *sandy* colour, in compliment to the Queen, whose natural locks were of that tint." Heraldic Anomalies.[m]

The following quotation relates to the Masks and Revels (1 Edward VI.); among the articles we find,

" 8 coyffs of venys gold, wth th^{r} perukes of here hanging to them, & longe labells of coleryd lawne.

" 5 coyffs of venys golde with peruks of here." Loseley MSS. p. 77.

In the verses against the gentlewomen of Sicilia by Robert Green (ed. 1593),

> " Hair by birth as black as jet, what art can amend them?
> A perriwig frounc'd fast to the front, or curl'd with a bodkin,
> Hats from France, thick pearled for pride, and plum'd like a peacock."

In the " Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act IV. s. 3.

> " Her hair is auburn, mine is perfect yellow;
> If that be all the difference in his love,
> I 'll get me such a coloured perriwig."

[m] By a letter from Dr. John London to Cromwell, it appears that before the Reformation, images of saints were sometimes dressed up with *caps*, *wigs*, and other artificial ornaments.

" I have pullyd down the image of our Ladye of Caversham, whereunto wasse great pilgremage. The image ys platyd over with sylver, and I have putte it in a cheste," &c.—with her " cotes,"—" *her cappe and here.*"—Ellis's Letters, cxxix.

In the account of the revels in the reign of Elizabeth is mentioned "a perriwigg of heare for King Xerces' syster." See Collier's Annals of the Stage.

And W. Vaughan, in his "Golden Grove, Moralized in Three Books," (1600-1608,) speaks of hair-powder and perriwigs being worn by women, and that they "frizle and ley out their hayre in borders," &c.

From the following passage in the Diary of Samuel Pepys, it seems that in 1662 the custom of wearing perriwigs was again in vogue:

"By the by, comes La Belle Perce to see my wife, and to bring her a pair of *peruques* of hair, as the *fashion now is* for ladies to wear, which are pretty, and of my own wife's hair, or else I should not endure them."

Again, in 1665, "This day my wife begun to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them."

That perriwigs were worn by ladies as late as 1717, we find from one of Lady Suffolk's Letters:

"My brother is very much yours, and begs you will be so kind as to bespeak two periwigs for him, a degree or two lighter than mine, and something bigger in the head."

The author of "Plocacosmos" (1781) says, that soon after the year 1745 the "French curls made their first appearance in Paris, &c. They look like eggs strung in order on a wire, and tied round the head. At the same time appeared the French crape toupee, and also the strait, smooth, or English dress. All these the English made in false hair, from a notion of cleanliness, which they improved by being first averse to powder; but soon after they had all their hair drest in all the different fashions. Some time after came up the scallop-shell or Italian curls, done back from the face in their several shapes. The German were a mixture of scollop-shell and French in the front, curled all over behind, or *tête de mouton*."

The same author recommends that the ladies' hair "should never be combed at night, having almost always so bad an effect as to give a violent head-ache next day;" he also gives the ladies a caution about buying cheap hair, which is made by mixing up with old hair, which perhaps has been upon twenty different people's heads, either as old braids, men's old false tails, or the old tails

of gentlemen's wigs, which people are daily buying up whenever they are found."

One of the most detestable of fashions was the introduction of Hair-Powder. We all know that white powder was formerly worn. The above author mentions hair-powder of various colours, and gives receipts for making yellow, rose, pink, and also black powder.

Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" mentions "blue powder and black powder for the hair, and a red powder for the face," &c.

The following quotation is a satire upon the wearing of powder, from "Wit Restored," 1658:—

"And at the devill's shop you buy,
A dress of powdered hayre,
On which your feathers flaunt and fly,
But i'de wish you have a care,
Lest Lucifer's selfe, who is not prouder,
Do one day dresse your haire with a powder," &c.

That the servant-maids aped their mistresses in the time of Charles II. is seen in the following quotation from "The Blind Lady," by Sir Robert Howard, 1650, (Act II. s. 2.)

"*Peter.* Why, *Mrs. Quinever*, sure you once had
Better opinion of me, though you now
Wash every day your best handkerchief
With yellow starch, and your laced quoiff,
Till it now hangs as if the devill
Had frighted you through quicksetts; not a post
But must be beaten for the rotten powder
To make your hair sit well," &c.

The ladies of the present day, who bestow so much time on their hair every night, will perhaps be astonished to find the uncleanly habits of the middle of the last century, as in "The World," a periodical paper (No. 158).

"I consent also to the present fashion of curling the hair, so that it may stand a month without combing; though I must confess (and I believe most husbands and lovers are of my opinion), that I think a fortnight or three weeks might be a sufficient time; but I bar any application to those foreign

artists, who advertize in the public papers that they have the secret of making up a lady's head for a complete quarter of a year."

In a periodical paper entitled "The Old Maid," 1756—(No. 16 and 17,) is a letter from a correspondent, describing his meeting a young lady to whom he "was impatient to present an ode written in honour of her lovely tresses, her hair being the finest that ever floated on a lovely neck, when he is shocked at beholding the object of his admiration transformed into 'old mother *Cybele*, the *Berecynthian* Goddess, with all her turrets on her head.' One of the company, after admiring the crispness of her curls, asks how long her hair had been dressed? 'Three weeks last *Tuesday*,' replies Miss Fanny. 'Three weeks, Madam,' said I, 'ha'n't you been a'bed since that?' 'Regularly every *day*.'—'Pray, Madam, don't that lay you under the necessity of dressing your hair every *evening* when you rise?'—'Oh Lord, Sir,' says Miss, smiling at my ignorance, 'a head properly *made up*, with pins, paste, and pomatum, will *keep* a month very well.' As she talked of her head in the style of pickled pork, I ventured to ask her whether the paste and pomatum would *keep* as long?—'Certainly,' said she, 'if prepared with the *veritable eau de fleur des arbres*?'—'I suppose, Miss,' said I, 'this fashion is peculiar to the young ladies, as the married are more liable to have their locks discomposed.' 'Not at all,' says she, 'Lady *Lazy* dresses her hair but once a quarter; tis true we are enjoined to lie on one posture, which to be sure is an inconvenience; last night I went to bed somewhat earlier than usual, and was consequently restless, so happening to turn on one side, *deranged* the right wing a little, but *Betty* has *racommoded* it *passablement bien*.' 'I perceive, Madam,' said I, that a comb is a very unnecessary ornament on a modern toilette; and so retired full of indignation, with my poem in my pocket," &c.

"Her hair
Unty'd and ignorant of artful aid,
Adown her shoulders loosely lay display'd
And in the jetty curls ten thousand Cupids play'd."

"Thus I had engaged a band of Cupids in her service; but this poetical machinery is destroyed; for alas! the Cupids, who are plump chubby boys, could never penetrate her paste-works; and should they escape dashing out their brains against her perpetual curls, they must infallibly be transfixed,

as you have seen flies by school-boys, on those enormous pins, which rival her hairs in number."

The following is from one of Lady Suffolk's letters dated 1737: "Mrs. Floyd, to be sure, hath left off combing her head above once in a fortnight or three weeks. I beg she will leave off her *tête de mouton* and her *pannier*, till I can be *charmée* and *ravie* to see her."

I will no longer intrude upon the time of the Society, but will only add one more quotation, taken from "The Italian Taylor and his Boy," by R. Armin, 1609:

"Fooles make bookes for wise men to laugh at. I have known some, that have loved the writer for the worke, how ever weake; the *will pleaded so powerfully;* and the partie presenting it, had (at the least) thankes for his labour."

JOHN ADEY REPTON.

VI. *Account of the Old Bridge at Stratford-le-Bow in Essex, in a Letter from* ALFRED BURGES, *Esq. addressed to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 12th and 19th May, 1836.

23, Great George Street,
7th May, 1836.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to send you an account and some drawings of the celebrated Old Bridge at Stratford le-Bow, and I hope you will consider them of sufficient interest to be submitted to the Society of Antiquaries.

Since the paper was written, the greater part of the bridge has been taken down to give place to another of granite, of one arch, which is now in progress of erection under the direction of Mr. Walker and myself as engineers; and, should any further information respecting the Old Bridge be obtained during the progress of the work, I shall have great pleasure in transmitting it to you.

I have honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ALFRED BURGES.

To SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H.
F.R.S. Sec.

BOW BRIDGE, the subject of this inquiry, has been long celebrated as one of the most ancient, if indeed not the oldest, stone bridge in England. It is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of London, crossing the river Lea on the high road to Essex, at a distance not exceeding three miles from the centre of the metropolis.

It was erected in the early part of the eleventh century, under the auspices

of the pious Matilda, Queen-consort to King Henry the First, to form a more direct and safe communication between the metropolis and the county of Essex than the then existing passage across the river by the dangerous ferry at the Old Ford.

At the period of its erection, the Bridge was no doubt a structure of the plainest description of building and, like many such erections of former ages more to be admired for massive solidity, than for any architectural beauty of construction; but it is nevertheless interesting to the antiquary, as possessing the character of building that marked the first attempts of bridge-building in this country—such as large piers formed for the support of small and low-arched openings, and high battlements for the protection of a roadway of the narrowest possible dimensions.

Before commencing the history of the Bridge, it may not be considered altogether uninteresting to notice the line of communication anterior to its erection.

Most historians assign the first Roman colony founded in Britain to the county of Essex, and it is as universally allowed, that several stations and towns were early established in different parts of it; and consequently, at this early period, attention must have been directed to the formation of proper roads between them.

Without attempting a description of the roads made by the Romans in Essex, it will be sufficient for the present purpose to notice that which formed the direct communication with London.

It was the opinion of Dr. Stukeley, who wrote very largely upon the Roman remains in this country, that the Watling-street of the Romans from Chester to Dover, was crossed at Tyburn by another road from Chicester to Dunwich in Suffolk; this last road passing along Old-street, north of the city, continued forward to Colchester, &c. and is considered by that antiquary to be the high Essex road of the present day.

The same author also informs us, that "when the Romans enlarged the city, and inclosed it by a new wall, they also made a branch to proceed from St. Giles's, which is now called Holborn, built a gate at Newgate, and continued the road to Cheapside."

This last line of communication was continued east of the city; and Mait-

land, in his History of London, describes it to be the "Roman vicinal way through Aldgate by Bethnall Green to the trajectus or ferry at Old Ford," where it no doubt joined the Via Iceniana described by Dr. Stukeley.

From this it will appear that the great Roman road into Essex crossed the river Lea by means of a ferry at Old Ford, in which direction it continued for many centuries after the Romans left this island, or, in fact, until the erection of a bridge at Bow.

This road is noticed so early as the seventh century, when the body of St. Erkenwald was stopped at Ilford and Stratford by the flood, as it was being conveyed from the abbey of Barking, where he died, for interment in London; but upon this occasion the chronicles record the intervention of a miracle, by which a safe and easy passage was procured for the corpse of the holy man and its attendants.

As this event occurred about the year 685 (nearly 300 years after the Romans left Britain), it goes far to prove that the approaches to London from the county of Essex, continued for many centuries along the ancient roads formed by these conquerors, viz. by crossing the river Lea at Old Ford, where one branched to the south-west through Bethnall Green to Aldgate, as described by Maitland, and the other continued in a straight direction across Cambridge Heath to Old-street, according to Dr. Stukeley's statement, until the early part of the eleventh century, when a bridge was built over the river Lea at Bow, a short distance to the south of the ferry. The direction of the road was then turned, with a considerable curve, to the southward; the deviation commencing, no doubt, where the road now makes an angle between the fourth and fifth mile stone, or where the low marsh land meets the high ground, and continuing across the bridge until it joined the ancient road to Cheapside at Aldgate, in the line of the present principal approach to the city from the county of Essex.

Morant, in his History of Essex, has particularly noticed these roads, as also the circumstance which led to the erection of the bridge, in the following passage:

"The ancient road from this county to London was by Old Ford, that is, through the ford there without a bridge; but, that passage being difficult and dangerous, and many persons losing their lives, or being thoroughly wetted,

which happened to be the case of Maud, Queen-consort of King Henry I. she turned the road from Old Ford to the place where it now is, between Stratford-Bow, and West Ham, and caused also the bridges and causeway to be built and made at her own charge."

Stow has also recorded this event in his Annals; his account is in substance nearly the same as that already given, but being rather more in detail, it is here transcribed in the language of the curious old antiquary's work (edit. 1631, page 135).

After recording the death of Queen Matilda, he goes on to state that "Matilda when she saw the way to bee dangerous to them y^{t} travailed by the Old foord over the river of Lue (for she herselfe had beene well washed in the water) caused two stone bridges to be builded in a place one mile distant from the Old foord, of the which, one was situated over Lue at the head of the towne of Stratford, now called Bow, a rare peice of worke, for before the time the like had never beene seene in England. The other over the little brooke comonly called Chanelsebridge. Shee made the King's high-way of gravell betweene the two bridges. Moreover, shee gave manors and a mil comonly called Wiggon mil to the Abbesse of Barking, for the repairing of the bridges and high-way. But afterwards Gilbert de Mountfichet builded the abbey of Stratford in the Marshes, the abbot whereof, by giving a piece of money, purchased to himselfe the manors and mil aforesaid, and covenanted to repair the bridges and way, till at length hee laid the charge upon one Godfrey Prat, allowing him certaine loaves of bread daily, that he should repaire the bridges and way. Who being helpen by the ayde of travailers, did not only performe the charge, but also was a gainer to himselfe, which thing the abbot perceiving, he withholdeth from him part of the bread promised. Whereupon Godfrey demanded a toll of the wayfaring men, and to them that denied he stopped the way, till at length, wearied with toyle hee neglecteth his charge, whereof came the decay and ruine of the stone bridge and way."

This is nearly the whole that Stow has given us as connected with the Bridge, although some slight notice is taken of it when he speaks of the office of Bridge Master to the city of London. Stratford bridge, he observes, "being the first builded with arches of stone, was therefore called Stratford le Bow."

But in the account of this bridge as given by Mr. Lysons, we find reference

made to an inquisition taken on oath before Robert de Retford and Henry Springurnall, the King's justices in 1303 (31 Edw. I.), of which a more particular account will be given.

In this inquisition the early history of the bridge is set forth nearly as already stated, but with the following interesting additions, which form a continuation of the narrative from the period to which it is brought down by Stow in his Annals. By this document it appears that "Hugh Pratt," who, by the bye, Stow has named Godfrey Pratt, "living near the road and bridges, in the reign of King John, did of his own authority, begging the aid of passengers, keep them in repair. After his death, his son William did the same for some time, and afterwards, through the interest of Robert Passelew, the King's justice, obtained a toll," (which, according to the note attached to Morant's account of the bridge, was, for every cart carrying corn, wood, coal, &c. one penny, of one carrying tasel two pence, and of one carrying a dead Jew eight pence), "which enabled him to make an iron railing upon a certain bridge called Lock bridge, from which circumstance he changed his name from Pratt to Bridgewryght, and then were the bridges repaired, till Philip Burnet and the Abbot of Waltham, being hindered from passing that way with their waggons in the late reign, broke down the railing, whereby the said William being no longer able to repair it, left the bridge in ruins, in which state it remained till Queen Eleanor of her bounty ordered it to be repaired, committing the charge of it to William de Capella, keeper of her chapel. After which, one William de Charlton, yet living, repaired all the bridges with the effects of Bartholomew de Castello deceased."

The most ancient, and undoubtedly the most authentic account of the foundation of the bridges and causeway at Stratford, are to be found among the records preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster.

The records referred to give the detailed proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, in the sixth and eighth years of King Edward II., wherein the Abbot of Stratford, the Master of London Bridge, and the Master of St. Thomas of Acre, are charged with the repairs of the bridges and causeway at Stratford, as holding certain mills and other property, originally given by Queen Matilda to the Abbess of Barking, for their support and maintenance.

In these documents we follow the parties step by step to the final settle-

ment of the question, which was at last arranged by an agreement entered into between the Abbess of Barking and the Abbot of West Ham, the latter undertaking to repair the bridges for ever after, upon receiving a sum of money from the Abbess. The agreement here referred to will be found in the Appendix.

The pleadings of the 6th and 8th of Edward II. refer to former inquisitions taken in the 37th and 46th years of the reign of Henry III., and the 3rd year of the reign of Edward I. The following extracts particularly refer to the early history of the bridge.

"And from what is in the tenour of a certain inquisition in Chancery, concerning the bridge of Stratford, taken in the 37th year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John, grandfather of the present King (Edward II.) sent here before the King under his Seal of Chancery, it is found that the aforesaid lady, Matilda the Queen, assigned for the support of the aforesaid bridge of Stratford, a certain meadow, which the then Abbat of Stratford held, and that the said Abbat ought to repair the bridge, and always had taking by his bridge-master of certain customs for carts, and other things passing that bridge, and collected alms which the said bridge-master of the said Abbat received for the reparation of that bridge, as in the said inquisition more fully is contained," &c.

And in the 32d year of the reign of King Edward I., an inquisition was made before Roger le Brabazon and Stephen de Gravesende, by twelve jurors of the county of Essex, and twelve jurors of the county of Middlesex, who say upon their oath,

"That the passage over the water of the Luye at Stratford atte Bowe, anciently used to be in a certain place which is called the Old Forde, which is distant from the place where the bridges and causeway now are nearly one mile, at which passage many persons passing over it at divers times were drowned, and in great danger, and when after so much danger came to the knowledge of Lady Matilda, Queen of England, consort of Lord King Henry the First, she thereupon being moved with pity, sent for inquiry to be made where the bridges and causeway better and more advantageously might be made for the utility and easement of the county and those passing, and which being done, the same Queen caused to be built two bridges of stone, (to wit) one bridge over the water of Luye, at the end of the town of Stratford atte Bowe, and the other

over another channel of the same waters towards Essex, which is called Channelsebridge, and also one causeway to be made between the same bridges, so that persons passing by well and securely might pass. And because the same Queen willed that the bridges and causeway aforesaid, so of her free alms made, from thenceforth for ever should be supported and repaired, she purchased certain lands, rents, meadows, and one water mill, which is called Wiggen Mill, and appointed and ordained the same for the support and repair of the bridges and causeway aforesaid. And because she hoped that the support and repair of the same would be done better and more securely, by religious persons, if they were charged so to do, than by secular persons, least it should by chance happen that secular persons, they or their heirs, by lapse of time might fail; nor was there any religious house nearer to the bridges and causeway aforesaid, than the Abbey of Berking, because the Abbey of Stratford was not then founded; she gave the aforesaid lands, rents, meadows, and mill, with the appurtenances, to a certain person, then the Abbess, and her house of Berking, so that they and their successors, &c., should repair and sustain the said bridges and causeway as often as it should be necessary, for ever. And they say, that afterwards a certain Gilbert de Mountfichet founded the Abbey of Stratford, after the foundation of which a certain Abbat of that house obtained these tenements and the site of the Mills from a certain Abbess and Convent of Berking, because that they were near his Abbey of Stratford, and were lying and situated much to the advantage and easement of her house by doing, (to wit) that she and her successors, &c. the repairs and support of the bridges and causeway aforesaid, would do for the same Abbess and her successors, and her house of Berking, &c., and rendering to the same house besides four marks of silver yearly. And they say that the same Abbat for some time after repaired and supported the aforesaid bridges and causeway, by reason of the tenements and site of the mill aforesaid, and afterwards appointed a certain Godfrey Pratt, to repair and support the same in his name, and in the name of his house, and for this purpose delivered to him his horses and carts; and he built him a certain house upon that causeway, and a certain allowance was made to him from the Abbey of Stratford every day, taking the same by his deed, which same Godfrey did those repairs for a long time also, with the assistance for this purpose from cer-

tain persons there passing, although not oftentimes requested, who bestowed their alms and care for his assistance, so that in the same manner many goods he might have acquired, which when the same Abbat perceived, he said to the said Godfrey that he was able to do the repairs, &c., and support the same from such, his purchase being sufficient, without the gifts or any other aid for this purpose, to be taken or had for the Abbat aforesaid, and this bounty aforesaid he totally withdrew from him. Nevertheless the same Godfrey afterwards caused to be collected passage from many persons passing there, and put staples and bars upon the bridge, &c., and refused to permit carts or horsemen to pass until they had paid passage, unless they were nobility, whom through fear he permitted quietly to pass."

The remainder of these curious and interesting documents refer to the law proceedings occasioned by the refusal of the Abbot of Stratford to repair this great work of the pious Queen.

After many years spent in litigation, he at last acknowledged his liability; for in Easter Term, 9th Edward II., the Abbot of Stratford appeared in Court, and acknowledged his signature to the agreement with the Abbess of Barking before mentioned, wherein he undertook to keep in repair the two bridges and causeway at Stratford for ever after.

From this period to the dissolution of the monastery in the year 1539 (30 Henry VIII.) we do not find any attempt was made to throw off the responsibility; the bridges were no doubt during that period properly taken care of, and for some time after they fell into the hands of the Crown required but little repair, as we do not hear of any complaint being made till the year 1643, when they were again dilapidated.

In the course of this period, viz. from the dissolution to the year 1643, the lands and site of the monastery had been granted to Sir Peter Mewtis, who at the time was Ambassador from Henry to the Court of France, and from him they fell into the possession of various parties, who were at this time indicted for not keeping the bridges and causeway in repair. The question was tried in the King's Bench, when the defence set up by the defendants was, that the Abbot's lands had been discharged from the obligation by reason of their transition into and union with the Crown at the dissolution, but the Court found a verdict for the King.

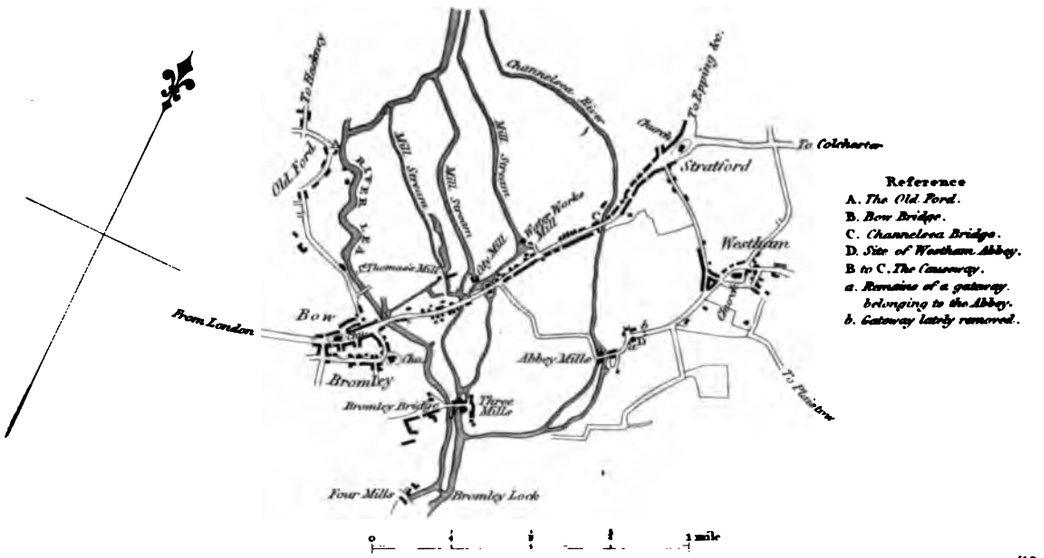
The question was again agitated in the year 1663; but was not carried into court, the parties being informed that they could make no defence, as appears by a document in possession of the Abbey land-owners, of which the following is an extract: "So the counsel told us that they could not give us any other counsel than to tell us we should be overthrown in all our defences and suits, and be at last compelled to repair after we had spent all our money and time and travel: and if the repairs were not performed, then great fines could be levied upon those who were indicted now in the Crown office this Easter Term, 15 Charles II."

Although so many attempts had been made to throw off this burden with the like unsuccessful result, we again find the question agitated by the land owners in the year 1690, when it was again decided in favour of the Crown, the court being of opinion that all the lands of the Abbot were liable.

From that period to the present day the land-owners, profiting by the experience of the past, and not forgetting the wholesome advice of the honest lawyers of 1663, have contented themselves to abide by the exertions of their predecessors, and continued the charge of the bridge and causeway at Stratford for the free and uninterrupted use of the public as was originally intended by the royal founder.

The great Essex road connecting the metropolis with some of the most influential towns and sea-ports of the eastern district of the kingdom, and also passing to a considerable extent through a rich agricultural country, must rank among the important land communications of England.

That a wide and properly constructed road should be considered of the first importance to the public is not surprising, and with a view to make this road as perfect as any of its kind, many great improvements have been made from time to time at a large expense, some are at present in progress, and others under consideration; but the most important, and that to which attention has been most and longest directed, is the entrance into Essex, across the bridges of Queen Matilda, which are now found to be much too narrow for so great a thoroughfare, and to occasion considerable inconvenience and sometimes danger in passing them.



In the course of the endeavours of the trustees to accomplish this improvement (which had occupied several years), many difficulties presented themselves, and properly to arrange the different interests concerned was a work of much solicitude and care; but fortunately, these difficulties were at length overcome, and an Act was obtained during the last session of Parliament, empowering the trustees to rebuild Bow Bridge, and improve the others, and the public will soon be able to congratulate themselves on having a new Bow Bridge, with a road-way of as ample dimensions as Waterloo or Westminster Bridge, and that without any fear of toll being exacted from a would-be Abbot of Westham, or any one else.

Of the antiquity of Bow Bridge there can be little doubt, as we have proved from the best authorities that it was erected by order of Matilda, Queen of Henry the First, which must have been between the years 1100, when she became Queen, and 1118, the year of her death.

If any portion of the present structure can be identified as part of the original edifice, it may be considered, if not the oldest bridge extant, as at all events possessing an age which few other bridges in the kingdom can so satisfactorily trace, the long period of upwards of seven hundred years, and it must consequently be considered as a highly interesting work of antiquity.

In the construction of this Bridge, we find all that characterises the very early specimens of bridge architecture; the small openings for the water, and wide piers with large angular projections, not only to divide and throw off the force of the current, but for foot passengers to retire into to avoid the danger from carriages and horsemen when passing along the narrow roadway.

That the Bridge was originally built of stone can need no further confirmation; but the number of arches it originally consisted of is a question we have now no means of ascertaining, though, in all probability, it never had fewer openings than it has had in our day. Lysons indeed states it be a bridge of one arch, but he does not give his authority; neither have I met with any other writer who has favoured that opinion, or advanced one argument to lead to such a conclusion. That it had at any time more than the present number of arches is uncertain, unless it were furnished with small openings or archways at each end under the causeway for the passage of the land floods; but if there were such, they could not in fairness be considered as forming any part of the bridge. Of such arches, however, I have not been able to discover the slightest remains, either from the excavations made purposely to determine that point, or from any examinations of the bridge itself.

That the present pointed arches formed no part of the original construction of the bridge must be evident, as no other but a circular arch would have been used at that time; the pointed form of arch not having been introduced into the buildings of this country till many years after. The original arches therefore appear to have been removed, and may probably have given place to several forms of construction, each partaking of the fashion prevalent at the time of their erection.

It may also be observed that the form of the present arches is of that particular description which was last of all introduced into our architecture, and is commonly known as the Tudor Arch, from being found in most of the buildings erected in the reigns of the two last Henrys, or about the latter end of

the 15th century; and it may therefore fairly be stated, that the present arches cannot be older than the date assigned for the introduction of that species of arch, to which they are similar, but have in all probability been erected since that time, as is clearly the case with regard to the arch of the centre opening of the bridge.

Before closing this account of the Bridge, we are led to inquire into the origin of its name, and the circumstances which gave rise to its being called the Bow, or Bow-bridge. Most writers ascribe the derivation to the resemblance of the arch to the form of a bow, thence called *de Arcubus*, or the Bows. The description given by Stow, in his Annals, goes to state "the bridge was arched like a bowe, a rare piece of worke, for before that the like had never been seen in England;" and Grose observes, it might derive its appellation from the word *beau*, or handsome, an epithet very likely to be given to it in those days.

The adjoining village of Stratford, on the London side of the Bridge, appears to have received the addition of the word atte Boghe, or atte Bowe, to its name, in consequence of the erection of this Bridge, and to distinguish it from a place of the same name on the opposite side of the river; it is now known by the name of Stratford-le-Bow, and is celebrated by Chaucer in his description of Dame Eglentine, the Prioress, as follows:

> "Frenché she spake full fayre and fetisly,
> after the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
> for Frenché of Paris was to her unknow."

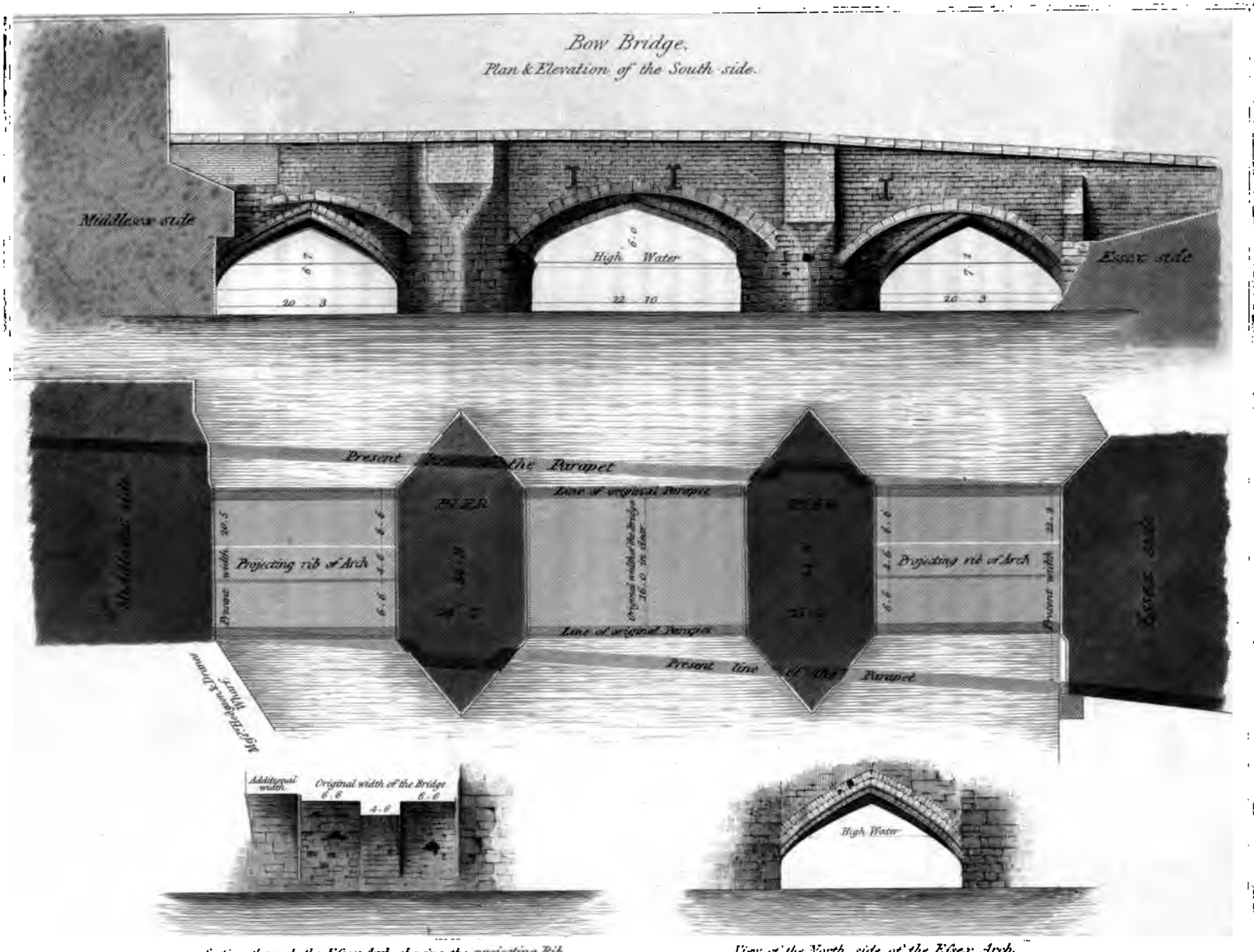
The drawing accompanying this paper (Plate XI.) shows a geometrical elevation, plan, and section of the Bridge, drawn from actual admeasurements. The elevation of the south face is shown in preference to the north, in consequence of the masonry being rather in a better state of preservation.

In the year 1741 the Bridge was widened on both sides, by which the greater part of the original face above the level of the pointed arches is obscured; but that of the eastern arch being less so than either of the other two, enables its original form to be shown in the drawing with a portion of its abutment and adjoining pier.

The plan shows the size and shape of the piers, the original width of the Bridge before the alterations and additions made to it in 1741, and also the width of the carriage way between the parapets at the present time.

Bow Bridge.

Plan & Elevation of the South side.



Section through the Essex Arch shewing the projecting Rib.

Scale of Feet. 10 5 0 10

View of the North side of the Essex Arch.

0 5 10

Meas.d & Drawn by A. Burges. 1834.

H. Basire. sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 25th 1837

The piers for the support of the arches occupy a very large proportion of the water-way of the river, and, like many other ancient structures of this description, are placed at an angle with the stream, causing interruption alike to the navigation and to the passage of the flood-waters.

The width of the Bridge was originally only thirteen feet six inches between the parapets, but in the year 1741 it was increased to twenty-one feet.

A few years previous to the bridge being widened, an accommodation had been made for foot-passengers, by projecting a wooden platform five feet wide over the piers on the north side; this has lately been rebuilt, at the expense of the two counties, after having been the subject of litigation for two or three years.

Very little attention appears to have been paid to uniformity in building this bridge, as scarcely any two corresponding points in the structure agree. We find the springing courses upon different levels, and also the elevation of the arches above the surface of the water, besides which the two piers are unlike both in width and length.

The side arches claim particular notice, from having a centre rib of considerable strength projecting below the line of the arch: a form of construction frequently to be met with in old buildings of this kind.

The centre arch, which is without any rib, has evidently been rebuilt upon the remains of a former one, probably to meet the demands of an improved navigation, it being in its present state much better adapted for the passage of vessels than if formed after the model of the side ones, as it no doubt was before being altered, for the springing stones still remain.

The present irregular appearance of the stone-work of the piers and arches, can only be ascribed to the numerous alterations and repairs made to the bridge at various times during the long period of its erection; but, if any part of the original structure remains, it can only be looked for within the casing of the piers, which evidently has been added to as the stones became decayed or broken away. The external face of the piers thus presents a strange mixture of almost all styles of work, with as many different kinds of materials.

At this distant period it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the description of stone used in the original construction of the Bridge. As in many other ancient buildings erected in this part of the country,

Caen stone appears to have been used for arching, some of which still remains, while Kentish rag and Purbeck stone were employed in the inferior parts of the work. The present face of the piers consists of Portland and Kentish stone, laid in courses of various shapes and dimensions.

Bow Bridge, unlike many of the old English bridges, has no starlings or projections beyond the line of masonry of the piers, which may be accounted for by the shallowness of the river at the spot; at low water, during the summer months, the difficulty of constructing the foundations could not have been great, as they are laid upon a stratum of gravel 3 to 4 feet below the present bed of the river.

The filling-in of the arches between the face-courses and the centre rib is little better than rubble masonry, the stones of which are both rough and irregular in size, the joints wide, and in several places tiles are employed to wedge the whole together.

The masonry of the centre arch is of a different character to that already described; the outside face-courses are also in two thicknesses, composed of Kentish rag stone, with a few of Caen stone, which no doubt had been saved from a former arch, while the filling-in between is entirely built of Kentish stone in regular courses very neatly put together, and, as already stated, without any rib or other projection.

The external face of the bridge above the arches, is formed of common rubble masonry, and the interior part over the piers and arches, no doubt filled up nearly to the level of the roadway with chalk or stone built in mortar, the plan generally adopted by the ancient builders in works of this description.

The masonry of the additional arching, &c. made to the Bridge in 1741, consists principally of Purbeck and Portland stone, built in regular courses in a firm and substantial manner.

APPENDIX.

QUEEN MATILDA.

THE frequent notice taken of Matilda, Queen of King Henry I., in the preceding pages, demands the few particulars history records of the character of this noble and pious princess. Her original name was Editha, but was afterwards exchanged for Matilda, or Maud. She was the eldest daughter of Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, by Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling, the legal heir to the English crown, and therefore, nearly related to our Anglo-Saxon King Edmond Ironside. Her three brothers were kings of Scotland in succession, viz. Edgar, Alexander the First, and David the First.

Stow says of this princess, that "shee was in her tender years brought up amongst the nuns at Winchester and Ramsey in the exercise of learning and virtue;" and Dr. Lingard, in his History of England, states that "her childhood had been entrusted to the care of her aunt, Christiana, Abbess of Wilton, who, to preserve the chastity of her niece from the brutality of the Norman soldiers, had compelled her to take the veil, and to frequent the society of nuns, for in that barbarous age there was no security for females unless they took refuge in a convent, their rank being no protection."

She was married to King Henry the First, on the 11th Nov. 1100, about three months after his accession to the throne of his brother William Rufus. She died on the 1st May, 1118, and was buried at Westminster.

Of her marriage with Henry we are informed by Mr. Sharon Turner, in his History of England, that she had worn the veil, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, at first pronounced that she could not marry. She pleaded her cause with unanswerable reasoning. "I do not deny that I have worn the veil, for when I was a child, my friend Christiana put a black cloth on my head to preserve me from outrage, and when I used to throw it off, she would torment me both with harsh blows and indecent reproaches; sighing and trembling, I have worn it in her presence, but as soon as I could withdraw from her sight, I always threw it on the ground and trampled it under my feet. When my father once saw me in it, he tore it from me in a great rage, and execrated the person who had first put it on."

Her interesting statement was not denied, and as she had never taken the oaths, she was declared at last free to marry the king.

Matilda had two children, William, who met a premature death in 1120, and Alice, who afterwards assumed the name of her mother.

Dr. Lingard states of the latter, that "for the last twelve years of her life she resided at Westminster, deprived of the society of her husband, but surrounded with the parade of royalty, and an object of veneration in the eyes of the people, by whom she was generally denominated Molde the good. The piety of her character was beyond the reach of suspicion, acts of benevolence and exercises of devotion occupied her time, and to listen to the chants of minstrels and the verses of poets formed her principal amusements; one fault she was said to have had, she was liberal beyond her means, and her officers, to supply the amount of her munificence, were occasionally compelled to oppress her vassals."

It was also stated of this princess, who was a Benedictine nun, and a votary of the first order, that she went every day in Lent to Westminster Abbey, bare-footed and bare-legged, wearing a garment of hair. She would kiss the feet of the poorest people, for which she was thus reprimanded by a courtier, as recorded in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicles.

"Madame, for Goddes love is this well idoo,
To handle sich uncline lymmes and to kisse so,
Foule wold the king thynk af that hit he wiste,
And ryght wit avyle him ere he your mouth kiste.
Sur, Sur, q^{d} the queen, be stille, why sayste thou so,
Our Lord himselfe ensample gif so for to do."

This princess founded the priory of the Holy Trinity in Aldgate, London, and the hospital of Saint Giles-in-the-Fields, for leprous maidens, and had Barking Abbey under her governance for some time.

CHAPEL ON THE BRIDGE.

It was the custom of our pious forefathers to erect religious houses upon bridges, and in some cases, as many as two have been connected with the same bridge. The chapel was generally dedicated to the saint who was sup-

posed to have under his protection those who navigated the river over which the bridge was built.

One of the most noted of these buildings was the chapel upon Old London Bridge, which was dedicated to Saint Thomas, and was not more remarkable for its magnitude than for the beauty of its architecture. It remained for a long series of years the wonder and admiration of the time, and was at last removed to make way for the improvements in 1756.

That a chapel was attached to Bow Bridge in former ages, is more than probable, especially when we consider the period of its erection, and the circumstances which led to its foundation; indeed, without a chapel so ancient a bridge could hardly be considered complete. In support of this opinion, we find in Sir William Dugdale's well-known work upon Embanking and Draining, a chapel referred to. It is first noticed in the 33rd year of Henry VIth's reign, when a commission was appointed to view the state and repair of the banks of the river, in these words: "betwixt Saint Katharine's chapel upon Bow Bridge, in the parish of West Hamme, unto Eest Tilbury." And again, in the first year of Edward IVth's reign, another view is ordered from the "Mill called Tempyl Mylle to the chapel of Saint Katharine upon Bow brigge, thence to Horndone, &c."

From this authority, it would appear, that Bow Bridge once possessed a chapel, and that the same was dedicated to Saint Katharine; but where it was placed, or who was its founder, we have not been fortunate enough to discover, or to form any probable conjecture.

CHANNELSEA BRIDGE.

Channelsea Bridge is one of the two bridges originally founded by Queen Matilda, as already stated: it crosses a branch of the river Lea, called Channelsea river, upon which the Abbey Mills are situated, at about half a mile below the bridge.

The site of the mills, no doubt, is the same as the water-mill given by Matilda to the Abbess of Barking for the support of the bridges, and referred to in the inquisition taken in 31 Edw. I., under the name of Wiggenmill. Channelsea Bridge consists of one pointed arch eleven feet wide, and appears

to have been rebuilt about the same period as the side arches of Bow Bridge; the arch being much under the level of high water is seldom to be seen, and then only for a very short time.

The width of the roadway over the arch was increased, when Bow Bridge was widened in 1741, from fifteen feet to the present width of twenty-one feet; it has an additional accommodation for foot-passengers, by a wooden platform similar to that at Bow Bridge.

SUBSTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY THE ABBESS OF BARKING AND THE ABBOT OF STRATFORD, FOR THE REPAIR OF THE BRIDGES AND CAUSEWAY AT STRATFORD. (9 Edw. II.)

"In the presence of the most noble Lord Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and the most venerable and discreet person Lord John de Sandale, then Chancellor; and Walter de Norwich, treasurer of England, Robert, the son of Walter Lord of Wadeham, Baron Lord Hervie de Staunton, Baron of the Exchequer, Master John Walewayn, then escheator of the Lord the King on this side Trent, being at Westminster, and of other faithful persons of the Lord the King, an agreement was made between the aforesaid Abbess and Abbot under this form (to wit): that the aforesaid Abbot and Convent, granted for himself and his successors, and his church of Stratford, and was held and bound in spiritualities and temporalities as well to the Lord the King of England, and his heirs, as to the aforesaid Abbess, and her successors, Abbesses of Berkyng, for ever to perform the constructing, making, reparation, and support of the aforesaid bridges and causeway, and to save harmless the aforesaid Abbess and her successors, and to acquit against all persons for the reparation, construction, support, and making of the same bridges and causeys, and that the said Abbot, and his convent, and his said conventual church of Stratford, with all his goods and possessions in spiritualities and temporalities, should be subject to distress and coercion of the Lord the King, his sheriff, and other officers of the King whomsoever, and of the aforesaid Abbess and her successors, and their bailiff, for perfecting and

supporting all these premises whensoever it shall be necessary. So always, that the said Abbot and convent, at the peril of their own proper charges and expenses, as aforesaid, ought, and are bound to support the constructions, making repairs, and supports aforesaid, and therefore shall remain bound; and that the Abbess of Barking, for the time being, for default of the said Abbot or his successors in this behalf, shall not incur loss or injury, and will keep them indemnified not to incur the same. And for this grant and agreement, the aforesaid Abbess gave to the aforesaid Abbot two hundred pounds of silver, saving always to the same Abbess and her successors Abbesses of Berkyng, the rent service of four marks, with the appurtenents, which the aforesaid Abbot and his predecessors before have been accustomed to pay to the said Abbess and her predecessors, for the lands and tenements which the aforesaid Abbot holds of the aforesaid Abbess in both towns of Stratford.

In witness whereof, as well the common seal of the Abbess and Convent of Berkyng as the common seal of the Abbot and Convent of Stratford to these present indentures interchangeably are put. Dated at London, on Wednesday next after the feast of Saint Valentine, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fifteen, and in the ninth year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward. Also, the aforesaid Abbot, brother William the prior, John the procurator, Stephen the cellarer, and many others brethren of the said house of Stratford, consented for themselves and their successors, and their church of Stratford, to make and construct, repair and support the bridges and causey aforesaid, as in the said writing more fully is contained. And that the Lord the King, and his heirs, and their officers, whomsoever they shall be, might destrain the said Abbot and his successors by all their possessions whatsoever, temporal and spiritual, wheresoever, as often as it should be necessary for supporting the said bridge and causey, &c. for ever; and that the said Abbot and Convent and their successors were bound in future to keep indemnified the said Abbess and her successors, against the said King and others whomsoever, from making, constructing, and supporting the aforesaid bridges and causey, &c."

VII. *Observations on the Roman Station of Magiovintum; by* Henry Brandreth, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 24th November 1836.

The Temple, May 13, 1836.

My dear Sir,

HAVING, at various times, amused myself with tracing the Roman roads Watling street and Ikening street, more especially as connected with the station Magiovintum, perhaps the result of some of my personal observations relative thereto, may add something, however little, to the stock of antiquarian knowledge in reference to Britannia Romana. The roads, to which I have alluded, are too well known to warrant my offering any lengthened remarks. They are considered to have been British trackways many centuries before the island was traversed by Roman roads, and that while the latter run from Venta Icenorum, Caister near Norwich, to Durnovaria, Dorchester in Dorsetshire; the former, commencing at Rutupium, Richborough in Kent, proceeded north-west to Mona, Anglesea, in North Wales. Both these roads had many vicinal branches, of which I will only name four of the Ikening. One seems to have branched off westward to Venta Silurum, Caerwent, in South Wales; another southward to Venta Belgarum, Winchester; a third, I suspect, run along to Camulodunum, Maldon, in Essex; whilst another took a northerly direction to Durobrivæ, now Dorenford or Dornford, in Huntingdonshire.

At the time the Romans possessed themselves of Britain, Ireland, or at least the eastern shores of it, was inhabited by a people calling themselves Gathlin, whence the origin, in the opinion of some writers, of the Via Gathlina, or Gathlinorum, of the Romans, and the Watling street of the Saxons; and "it is a curious circumstance," remarks Lysons, "that an ancient trackway, un-

der the very same name, tends from the eastern extremity of Scotland to the same country." "These Gathlini," he adds, "were the remains of the old Celtic inhabitants of England, who had been driven, by powerful and successive invaders, to the extremity of Wales and the opposite shores of Ireland; and the communication with their country must have been of the utmost importance in those early times, as providing a passage for cattle and other articles of trade, from the extreme coasts of the west to the great marts for foreign merchants in the eastern parts of Britain." It was from this transit of cattle, I conjecture, that the Ikening street derived its name, Yken meaning in the British tongue Oxen. Hence, also, Rhedycina or Rhydykena, from Rhyd, a ford, and Yken, oxen. This, literally translated by our Saxon ancestors, would give Oxenford, at which spot the Thames, there called Isis, was most easily fordable for cattle. I may here remark, that the word Catieuchlani, through whose country this road ran, seems to have some reference to that of Yck, an ox; but I confess myself totally ignorant, at present, of the meaning of either the first or last syllable. It was at the spot where the present town of Dunstable, in Bedfordshire, stands, that these two roads crossed each other nearly at right angles. "The Watling street," says Lysons, "enters this county at the thirty-third milestone, in its way from St. Alban's to Stony Stratford, keeping nearly in the track of the modern Irish road, and is not to be distinguished from it; with this road, also, it leaves the county a little beyond the forty-second milestone, having passed through one itinerary station on it, which is generally agreed to have been at Dunstable. Roman coins have been found near this town; its present streets are at right angles with each other, and coincide with the four points of the compass; corroborating proofs of its having been the work of that people." If one locality, therefore, more eligible than another could have been selected for an inland market, it would most assuredly have been the spot where travellers and merchants from the four cardinal points must have been daily meeting each other. The Ikening street enters the county on its south-west borders, crossing the turnpike road from Bedford to Luton about the sixteenth milestone. "Here," says Lysons, "a branch seems to bear to the right, through Great Bramingham and Houghton, to the British town of Maiden Bower; while the principal road continues on the side of the hills between Great

Bramingham and Limbury, over Leagrave marsh, through the present town of Dunstable, where it crosses the Watling street, and soon after enters Buckinghamshire. In the whole of its passage through this and the neighbouring counties, it continues on the top or side of the chalk hills, and is known to every inhabitant by the name of the Ikeneld or Ikening street." The spot where it enters Buckinghamshire is where the river Ouzel crosses it. The earliest Itinerary seems to have been that of Ptolemy, and as many stations did not exist in his time which did in the time of Antonine, or, existing, were overlooked by him, the Itinerary of the Emperor has been generally regarded as the better authority for the locality of Roman stations. When we add how much more difficult it was for Ptolemy to obtain information than Antonine, the authority of the former is chiefly valuable when confirmed by the Itinerary of the latter. The names of the stations and their distances on the Watling street from London, are given by Antonine as follows:

Londinium.		
Sulloniacæ	.	9 miles.
Verolamio	.	12
Durocobrivis	.	12
Magiovinto	.	12

It has been generally considered that the station Magiovintum was at or near Dunstable, and the only thing that stood in the way of placing it there was the unfortunate fact of its being directly contrary to the statement of Antonine, who names it as the second station from Verolamium, and not the first, a distance of twenty-four miles instead of twelve. How, then, was the difficulty to be got over—how reconcile the Itinerary with its Dunstable locality? The only way was to consider that Magiovintum and Durocobrivæ had changed places through the carelessness of some transcriber of the Itinerary, which Ward and others have accordingly done, placing the latter at Fenny Stratford instead of at Dunstable. In seeking out the localities of British towns or Roman stations derived from British words, I have ever made it a rule to ascertain how the name and situation correspond, and I think that I may venture to say, that somewhere about one half of them will be found to be derived from natural objects, such as hills, vales, fields, rivers, lakes, &c.

and their peculiar characteristics, such as cold, narrow, white, red, blue, &c. "And certainly," says Camden, "the situation of ancient places are best conjectured from ancient inscriptions, roads, etymology, and resemblance of names." Durocobrivæ, tested by this rule, would indicate a locality as connected with Douro, water; Co, red; and Briv, which Camden translates, bridge, passage or ford; it being only found in names of places near rivers. Taking, then, the Itinerary of Antonine as my authority, I proceeded along the Ikening street, westward, to the nearest spot where anything in the shape of water could be found, being at a place at the foot of the Downs, called Well Head, distant, perhaps, as the Romans might reach it, by a slight deviation from the Watling street, about twelve miles from Verolamium. This spot has every appearance of having been a British town; the hill-side being full of small hollows, similar to those in other parts of the Chiltern range, and which have been considered by antiquarian writers to have been the coomb or cave dwellings of our aboriginal ancestors. Lower down, the brook has apparently been dammed up at some period or other, by which means a small lake or head of water was obtained; but whether it was done by the Britons, by the Romans, or by the Priors of Dunstable, for the purpose of forming a fishpond, is a matter of doubt.

Having obtained the first syllable of Durocobrivæ, I made diligent search for its adjuncts, but without the least success, as nothing near it bore out the derivation. Unless, therefore, the word Coh or Co was used by the Britons to signify something else than "red," Durocobrivæ was not situated here.

I next took another course, and proceeded eastward, along the Ikening street, to a spot called Leagrave Marsh, being the source of the river Lea. This place may be reached in about twelve miles from Verolamium, and here I began to look about for something of redness, but I found nothing of the kind, the fields around it being rather whitish from a chalky substratum. It has, indeed, been suggested by Camden, whether Durocobrivæ might not have been situated at Flamstead, near the Watling street, and had it agreed both in derivation and distance, there would certainly have been good grounds for such an allocation; but as this village, instead of being twelve miles from Verolamium, is scarcely more than six, and as the brook, the Verlam, to use the

words of Camden, " is no redder than the red sea," the position here taken up is anything but tenable. Two camps near Dunstable have been considered by antiquaries to be the site of Magiovintum. Of these, one is situated on a brow of a hill, called Totternhoe Castle Hill, about two miles north-west of Dunstable. It consists of a lofty circular mount, with a slight wall round its base, and a larger one of an irregular form, at some distance from it. On the south-east side is a camp, in the form of a parallelogram, about 500 feet long and 250 broad, three sides of which are defended by a vallum and foss, high and deep, and very entire on the south-east side. The south-west side, being on the edge of the hill-steep, has neither vallum nor foss ; while the north-east has been destroyed by the plough. In the foss of the circular camp is a hollow, apparently caused by the filling-in of a well, which must have been of a great depth, as no water could have been obtained until the level of the land-spring clay had been reached, which lies quite at the bottom of the hill, probably from 120 to 140 feet below that of the camp. On the top of the circular mount is a small hollow or basin, used, most probably, for a fire-beacon ; the hollow having been made to prevent the wood and other materials from being blown away, which would inevitably have been the case, as the west winds, especially during the Equinoxes, become here not unfrequently perfect hurricanes. As the camps of the Romans were square, and not circular, this would seem to have been an earthwork raised by the Britons, and subsequently made use of by the Romans as a castrum æstivum. The view from the mount is very extensive, commanding a long range of the Chiltern hills, the vale of Aylesbury, and the central part of Bedfordshire.

There is an exceedingly good plan of this camp in Lysons's " Bedfordshire." At the distance of about a mile from it, to the eastward, in the hamlet of Sewell and in the parish of Houghton Regis, is another earthwork. It consists of a circular vallum, thrown up on a level plain, and is about 2,500 feet in circumference. To the south, it has no foss; to the south-west and west, only a very small one. To the north and east, however, the foss is broader and deeper; while to the north-west there is a descent to the meadows. The inner part of the vallum is from eight to fourteen feet high, and the area contains about nine acres. There is an opening on the south-east side, which appears to be co-eval with the camp itself, and from which there is a road still

visible, leading, by Brewer's Hill farm-house, on to a large oblong tumulus, near Dunstable, called the Mill Bank, from its having been the site of a windmill. The north side is level within, and the ground falls as much within as without the other sides. It is known by the name of Maiden Bower Camp; Maiden being a corruption of Maydun, from Mâg, pronounced May, campus, and Dun, collis,—the old appellation of Castle Hill. Burgh being added to it by the Saxons, formed Maydunburgh, whence Mayden Bower. Dr. Stukeley supposes it to be a British work, and describes it as "standing on a plain, but not far from a lesser eminence of the Chiltern Hills, about a mile from Dunstable; the rampier pretty high, but very little sign of a ditch, nor do I think," says he, "there ever was much more." The eminence here alluded to is, no doubt, that of Castle Hill, though it is difficult to say to what extent the plough may have destroyed any foss which may have existed; while, as to its having been a British town, I must freely confess that its locality by no means answers to those generally supposed to have been such, as it is situated neither near marsh, river, nor wood. There are, however, similar camps, in different parts of the country, ascribed, by antiquaries, to our Celtic ancestors. Arbury Banks, by Ashwell, is a like work; such another is to be seen on Wilbury Hill, and a third between Chipping Norton and Stow-in-the-Wolds.

Under the impression, then, that this camp might not have been a British town, I proceeded once again to Well Head, and should the Forum Dianæ of Richard have been but another name for the station known to Antonine as Magiovintum, I should have little hesitation in placing it here. Singularly enough, the termination vint, or, as sometimes spelt, vent,[a] was the same in the British tongue as forum in that of the Romans, which, in junction with mâg, campus, would give us magvint or magiovinto, the "market-field," a name most applicable to its situation, and agreeing well with that of "forum." Near the bottom of the slope of the down, a platform of earth has been thrown up; but whether it belongs to the days of the Britons or to the period when the tournaments were held there, may be a matter of some doubt. A strong bank of earth, or dam, seems to have been thrown up across the channels of the springs, to stop their course; but whether this was done

[a] This word as venta, is still in use in Spain, where it means an inn. It is evidently derived from "vender," to expose for sale.

for the purpose of forming a sort of lake for defence, as at Verolamium, or to insure a supply of water in dry seasons to some mill below it, is uncertain. Certain, however, it is that a mill on this brook has obtained the name of "Do-little mill," from the circumstance of its not being able to work, in dry seasons, from a deficiency of water. Near the Well Head, in some of the ploughed fields, I have, also, found fragments of Roman or Romano-British pottery, and Roman coins have been dug up in its vicinity, as well as a golden ornament, discovered a few years since, by the road side, by some labourers digging for flints. It was described to me as a small horn, not improbably, a torques[b] or armilla; but as I was not able to obtain a sight of it, I cannot determine its origin or use. Whether, however, Dunstable be Magiovintum or not, I perfectly agree with Lysons, "that the name of Forum Dianæ, given to this station by Richard, shews it to have been a considerable mart of trade, for which its situation, at the intersection of the Ikening and Watling streets, was particularly convenient; and it is, indeed, not improbable, that the site was fixed upon by the Romans for their new town on this very account, in preference to the neighbouring town of Maiden Bower." I should here observe, that the learned author whom I have quoted, does not place Magiovintum in the vicinity of Dunstable, but at Dunstable itself, in some fields immediately to the south of the west street of that town, where are now to be seen foundations of buildings, not indeed, as far as I have been able to ascertain, of Roman times, but of those of the monastery of the Friars Preachers.

Some writers have considered, and myself once among the rest, that Magiovintum, or, as written by them, Magiovinium was derived from Mâg, "campus," and Gwyn, "candidus," and oddly enough the camp, to which I have before alluded, as situated at the source of the river Lea, is on the edge of a field known by the name of "the White Field"—the Mâggwyn, as it were, of the Britons. How careful then ought an etymologist to be, and how doubtful, after all, must be some etymons! The distance of this camp from Verolamium, by a branch road through the village of Caddington, is about twelve miles. It is situated on a gently-rising ground, just above the springs, and answers exactly to the description of a British oppidum, as given by Roman

[b] Since the above was written, I have seen some specimens of gold ring-money, trumpet-formed. Might it not rather have been one of them?

historians. It consists of about three-fourths of a circle. To the north and east, it is defended by a vallum and foss; to the south and south-west, a natural steep declivity forms a sufficient defence without the aid of art; while to the west, the sources of the river, the river itself, and an adjoining morass, rendered it totally unapproachable either for foot or horse. Its size may be about that of Castle Hill; its shape and locality—parvis componere magna—bear a great resemblance to that of Verolamium, part of it being flanked by a wood. From it a road runs down to the Ikening street, if, indeed, the Ikening street may not rather be said to pass through it. Whether, however, it does or does not, it diverges considerably from the direct line to Dunstable and Well Head, apparently for no other reason than that of visiting this camp. On the whole, whether it be the true Magiovintum or not, it is certainly an earth-work of great antiquity, and well deserving a less imperfect description than I have given of it. I could have wished to have stated its length and breadth, but am not able to do so at present, having mislaid the notes made by me of its admeasurement, which I took, however, only by pacing it. I have not been able to ascertain that any coins or other remains of by-gone ages have been found at or near it, a circumstance which may be accounted for by the supposition of its having been abandoned by the Romans, for a station where they might avail themselves of the traffic from north to south at the same time they did so of that from east to west. Between this camp and the spot where the Ikening street crosses the road from Luton to Bedford is a farm house, in the garden of which is seen a square entrenchment, to which I should not like to fix a date; but as either the Ikening street itself, or a branch road from it, runs hard by it, it would almost seem to be connected with the Roman æra.

Having now noticed the two main roads, those of the Watling-street and the Ikening-street, I will only make a few brief observations with regard to some of the branch ones.

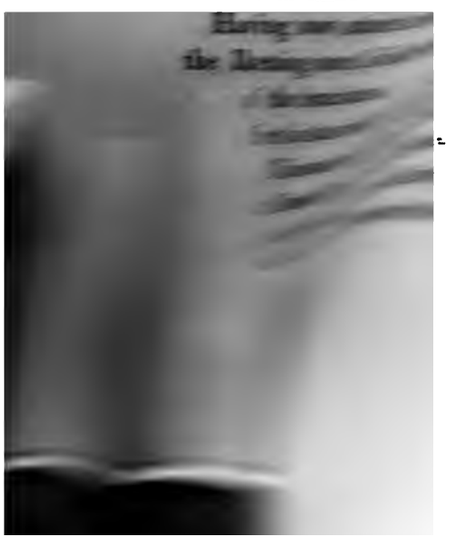
The first is that which led to Bedford, without passing by the Dunstable station. This road quits the Watling-street about a mile and a half before it arrives at Dunstable from St. Alban's, at a place called Houghton Gap, being the "opening" to the village of that name. The level ground, at the foot of the Downs, through which it passes, is known by the name of Street Field; a

circumstance which, added to the discovery of Roman coins near it, indicates its having been used by the Romans. It was about the year 1770, that a labourer of the town of Dunstable, digging for gravel near the Shepherds' Bush, discovered an earthern urn or pot, formed of red clay, and nearly full of small copper coins of several Roman emperors. The urn or jar was at once broken into small pieces by a blow of the pick-axe, so that no part of it was preserved. Several more Roman coins have been found, since that period, on this part of the Downs, in digging for flints and other road materials. From Street Field, it passes hard by the east end of Dunstable Priory church, and so on, by Wood Way, to Houghton church. A short distance before it reaches Wood Way, it runs along a faint slope called Gravel Pit Hill, where also Roman coins have been found.

From Houghton Church, I suspect to the eastward of it, it proceeded in nearly a straight line to Lord's Hill, and the town of Toddington, and then on through Ampthill to Bedford. Roman and Romano-British remains have been dug up along the greater part of the line of road. Among these were some fragments of pottery, and urns of light brown and coarse black clay, together with a small copper key and arrow-head of the same metal, found in trenching a piece of ground for planting, and opposite to a moated square enclosure, in the hamlet of Thorn, called the Bury Field. A fine silver denarius was also shewn to me, dug up on Thorn Green close by. There is a field at Caldecote or Cauldecote, as it is sometimes written, where the Priors of Dunstable had a jail and fish-pond, in which I have seen many fragments of pottery turned up by the plough, all of them undoubtedly of Roman or Romano-British manufacture.

A few years since, some labourers, in digging gravel near the road or place traditionally named by the inhabitants "the Frenchman's Highway," in the parish of Toddington, discovered weapons, pieces of armour, &c.; and, although I have not seen any of them myself, an account of them has been given in a small work entitled "The History of Dunstable and its Antiquities," by an anonymous author. "In the year 1819," says the writer, "in a field belonging to Mr. Hicks of Toddington, on the west of that town, towards Chalgrave and Winfield, as some labourers were digging gravel for the roads, they discovered, for the length of a furlong, or upwards of two hundred yards or more,

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they are very perfect, and appear of similar workmanship, but not alike in size or shape; one is seven inches and three-quarters in length—the other not quite six inches; and the socket of one is twice the length of that of the other. The breadth of them is nearly the same, viz. one inch and a half; the shortest is in the shield form, with a larger socket than the other; they have a semi-round projection, which extends from the socket to the point, down the flat part of the spear, and were fastened to their handles by a single rivet through each socket: the longest appears rough on the edge, like a fine saw; the shortest is a little bent, and has two hacks in it, probably from the stroke of a sword, or some other sharp instrument.

"Among other things was found a piece of copper, overlaid with a thin plate of fine gold; it is part embossed, other parts engraved or chased, and highly ornamented. I consider it was used as an ornament to a girdle or sword-belt, by some ancient warrior; or otherwise attached to some part of his armour. The length is nearly five inches, and the breadth three in the widest part. The beads generally were composed of stone, though some were of a composition of glass, of many colours; the smallest were black or dark brown; others appeared to be made of agate or very hard white stone. Several of the ollæ were filled with small bones, apparently the bones of human fingers, toes, &c. History informs us that the Britons used brass spear-heads in their wars, and I have reason to think some of the ones in question were brass, though they now have the appearance of copper. I lately conversed with a labourer who was employed in digging gravel in the abovementioned fields, who stated that he one day found four of those circular sorts of plates, before alluded to, of superior workmanship, and was informed, after he had parted with them, that they were most of them composed of gold. He described them as being of the shape and size of saucers, of five or six inches diameter, and marked with flowers or figured work all over, and when rubbed, they shone like bright yellow gold. They probably belonged to four chief captains or officers that were buried together, as they were all found in one place. He stated that the beads were of all sorts of colours, and were found in masses in various parts of the field; the vessels, or whatever had contained them, had perished in the earth. The small pots, he said, were filled with little bones, and

were very numerous in one part of the field; but it was impossible to preserve any of them, as they crumbled to dust with the slightest touch of the hand."

It was in the year 571, that the Britons, fighting unsuccessfully against the brother of Ceawlin, at Bedford, were obliged to retreat towards Wessex. The most advantageous line of march would have been by Ampthill, Toddington, Leighton, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Ensham, in Oxfordshire; and, as we find that the four last were taken possession of by the Anglo-Saxons, I have no doubt about such having in fact been the route made use of by them. It is with this period, and with this sanguinary struggle on the part of the Britons for independence, that I connect the field of battle in which these remains were found.

At a spot so much frequented by travellers as the Roman station, whether as Magiovintum or Forum Dianæ, must have been, we might expect to find many remains of antiquity, in the shape of urns, coins, fibulæ, pavements, &c. Of pavements, I believe, none have been found, but vast quantities of coins have been, and are continually being, found in its vicinity. Among others I have heard of two small pieces, concave on one side and convex on the other. One is of copper; I know not of what metal the other is, but they are both of them British, or rather, perhaps, Celtic, as they upon them the grotesque figures usually found on British coins. They were found on the track of the Watling Street, near the foot of the Downs. There have been found, also, of Roman coins, a thick brass one of Tiberius, and another of the same description, of Trajan: one of Vespasian, of first brass, with the amphitheatre on the reverse: one of Augustus Cæsar, and one, in third brass, of Dalmatius.

To these may be added three denarii, of Vespasian, Severus, and Sergius Galba; three in first brass, being of Trajan, Aurelius, and Commodus; four in second brass, of Vespasian, Maximianus, Trajan, and Dioclesian, together with very many of the Lower Empire; as well as of Claudius, Tetricus, Carausius, Allectus, &c. in third brass. They were all found in different parts of the parish of Houghton, chiefly in the "upper" or "south" fields, being those through which the Ickening Street runs.

Should this attempt to elucidate the station of Magiovintum, induce older and abler antiquaries to investigate, in like manner, the different Roman stations in the vicinities of which they may chance to reside, I shall not consider the time devoted to writing the present Communication altogether thrown away.

Believe me to be,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

HENRY BRANDRETH.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.
F R S., Sec.

VIII. *Remarks on the Commencement of the Reign of King Richard the First, by* WILLIAM HARDY, *Esq.; Communicated in a Letter from the Rt. Hon.* LORD HOLLAND, *F.R.S. & S.A., to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 15th December, 1836.

South Street, 13th Dec. 1836.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

THE enclosed Communication was sent to me as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, by Mr. William Hardy, an ingenious and diligent young man, who is one of the clerks in that establishment. As it ascertains a fact (hitherto, I believe, unknown), namely, that the regnal years of Richard the First were calculated, not from his father's death, but from his own coronation, and that before the latter event he had the title of *Dominus* Angliæ, not *Rex* Anglorum; I think it worth the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, and in the absence of Lord Aberdeen send it to you, with a request, that at your convenience you will communicate it to that Society.

I am, dear Sir,

truly yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

Duchy of Lancaster, Dec. 9, 1836.

MY LORD,

IT has been justly remarked that, in fixing with accuracy the commencement of the regnal years of King Richard the First, great impediments are felt from the total absence of any Chancery Rolls, or Records of the enrolment

of Charters and Royal Letters, which have been found to afford such conclusive evidence with respect to the date of the regnal years of his successor King John, and of all subsequent monarchs.

The existence of an original charter preserved amongst the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster, which seems to throw some light upon this subject, is conceived to be a fact that might not be altogether uninteresting to the Society of Antiquaries. I have therefore indulged in the freedom of sending your Lordship a transcript of it, which, if you should consider it worthy the notice of the Society, your Lordship might think proper to be presented at one of their meetings.

It is believed that no similar instance has ever been adduced of a charter granted by an English sovereign, between the demise of his predecessor and his own coronation. This charter affords internal evidence of having been granted by Richard the First nearly a month after his father's death, and therein he styles himself only Lord of England, " Ricardus Dei gratia Dominus Angliæ ; " it seems therefore to establish the opinion that Richard's reign did not actually commence before his coronation, and that the regnal years of that monarch were not computed from the death of his father, the period usually assigned to his accession ; tending also in some measure to support the theory, of late much contended for, that the interval between the death of one monarch and the coronation of his successor, was in the eleventh and twelfth centuries considered an Interregnum.

King Henry the Second is allowed by all authorities to have died at the castle of Chinon on the 6th of July 1189, when Richard his eldest son succeeded to the inchoate right to the throne of England, though not as it seems to the title of King. He was invested, according to Hoveden, with the Dukedom of Normandy on the 20th of July (the feast of Saint Margaret) following ; and on the 13th of August the Duke sailed for England from Barfleur. We are not told how long he remained at Barfleur before he obtained a passage, but there can be little doubt that during his stay there, on that occasion, the present charter was given. Richard, however, was not crowned until the third of September following, and the proof that his regnal year was reckoned from that day, and not from his father's demise, seems justly deducible from the fact that in his public instruments he did not assume the style and title of

King before his coronation, taken in conjunction with another original charter existing amongst the Duchy Archives, which is dated at Marseilles, on the third of August, in the first year of the same monarch's reign. In that charter there is sufficient internal evidence to shew that it was made in the year of our Lord 1190; and consequently, if the accession of Richard was dated from King Henry's demise, the third of August, 1190, would have been in the second and not in the first year of the reign.

Another interesting fact apparent from the charter here transcribed is, that King Richard, the first of our sovereigns who in his charters and public letters wrote in the first person plural, did not use that form until after he had been crowned; as throughout this charter he makes use of the expressions "Ego," and "Meus," as did all the preceding English monarchs, instead of the plural number "Nos," and "Noster," which was adopted by him after his coronation, and followed by every succeeding King.

The purport of the charter is to confirm, unto Gerard de Camville and his wife Nichola, all the right and heritage of the same Nichola in England and in Normandy, together with the custody and the Constableship of Lincoln Castle, to hold as freely and entirely as Robert de Haia and Richard de Haia, or any of the said Nichola's ancestors, held the same. Duke Richard moreover grants to them, hereby, Warreville and Puppeville, with the exception of 300*l.* Anjou of land which he had given out of those manors to Richard de Humeto. Amongst the witnesses are John Earl of Morton, the Duke's brother, and several other noblemen who accompanied him to England, and the charter is given under the hand of William his Chancellor, the famous William Longchamp, whom he afterwards made Bishop of Ely. The seal has unfortunately been torn away from the document, and is now lost.

With many apologies for the liberty I have taken in sending your Lordship these remarks,

I have the honour to remain,

your Lordship's

very obedient and obliged servant,

WILLIAM HARDY.

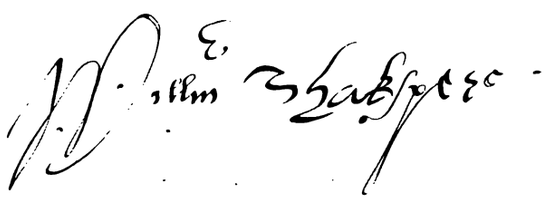
To the Right Hon. Lord Holland,
&c. &c. &c.

R. đi gr̃a dn̄s Angł 7 Dux Norm̄. 7 Aq't̄ 7 Com̄ And. Archiep̄is. Ep̄is. Abbatib⁹. Comitib⁹. Baronib⁹. Justic̄. Vic̄. 7 omnib⁹ Baitł 7 fidelib⁹ suis salt̄. Sciatis me concessisse 7 p̄senti carta mea confirmasse Gerardo de Canvilla 7 Nicolae uxori sue 7 ħedib⁹ eor̄ totū jus 7 ħeditatē quā haþe debēt in Anglia 7 in Norm̄ de ħeditate ipsi⁹ Nicoł cū custodia 7 constabularia castelli Lincoln̄. 7 cū om̄ib⁹ redditib⁹ 7 rectitudinib⁹ 7 liþtatib⁹ quas haþe debēt. sic̄ Roþ de Haia. 7 Ric̄ de Haia. v̄l aliq's añcessor̄ ipsi⁹ Nic̄ ea justi⁹. 7 meli⁹. 7 liþius. 7 integrius tenuer̄t. P⁹terea concessi eis Puppevitł. 7 Warrevillā. sic̄ jus suū cū omnib⁹ ꝑtinentiis ad ip̄a maneria ꝑtinentib⁹. exceptis CCC. libratis t̄re And quas dedi de maneriis illis Ric̄ de Humeto. Quare volo 7 firmit⁹ p̄cipio qđ jā dicti Ger̄ 7 uxor ej⁹ 7 ħedes eorū om̄ia p̄dicta habeant 7 teneant. bn̄ 7 in pace. liþe. q'ete. integre plenarie 7 honorifice. cū om̄ib⁹ liþtatib⁹ 7 liþis consuetudinib⁹ suis. t̄. Joħe fr̄e meo Com̄ Morit̄. Witło de Humet̄ Constaþ. Hug̃ de Gurnai. Henr̄ de Novo burgo. Walket de ferariis. Rađ Taissun. Witł de Sc̄o Joħe. Roþ de Harecurt. Witło de Duia. Hug̃ Barđ Marescallo meo. Data ꝑ manū Witti Cancełł mei ap̄d Barbeft.

[L. S.]

IX. *Observations on an Autograph of Shakspere, and the orthography of his Name; in a letter from Sir* FREDERIC MADDEN, *K.H. F.R.S. and S.A., to* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F.R.S., Director.*

Read 26th January, 1837.



British Museum, Jan. 11, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,

I TRUST it will not be deemed foreign to the pursuits of the Society of Antiquaries, to receive some particulars respecting the Autograph of an individual, the magic of whose name must best plead as my apology for abstracting them from their graver subjects of inquiry. The individual I allude to is no less a personage than our immortal dramatic poet WILLIAM SHAKSPERE, to mention whom, and to excite curiosity and interest, I may, I believe, in any society of educated persons, assume to be inseparable. By the assistance of my friend Charles Frederick Barnwell, Esq. of the British Museum, I am enabled to lay before the Society an accurate fac-simile of the signature of this Great Man, written on the fly-leaf of a volume which, there

is every reason to believe, once formed a part of his library, and which has hitherto, strange to say, been hidden from the knowledge and indefatigable researches of the whole host of Shaksperian commentators, collectors, and illustrators. Already, on the mere announcement of the fact, one might fancy, with no great effort of imagination, the shades of Warburton and Johnson, Tyrwhitt and Steevens, Ritson and Chalmers, Warton and Parr, again crowding round the volume, to view the characters traced by the hand of the Bard of Avon; again might we view the adoration of Boswell's bended knees, and on this occasion no sceptic sneer would distort the lip or depress the brow of the critical Malone.—But to the point:

The precious volume which I have thus introduced to your notice is a copy of the first edition of the English translation of Montaigne's "Essays," by John Florio, printed in folio, 1603,[a] and its fortunate owner is the Reverend Edward Patteson, of East Sheen, in Surrey, to whom the Society will be indebted, in common with myself, for any gratification they may receive from the present communication. Of its history nothing more can be stated than this, that it belonged previously to Mr. Patteson's father, the Reverend Edward Patteson, Minister of Smethwick, in Staffordshire, about three miles from Birmingham, and thus contiguous to the county which gave our Shakspere birth. How or when this gentleman first became possessed of it, is not known; but it is very certain

"[a] The Essayes, or Morall, Politike, and Millitarie Discourses of Lo. Michaell de Montaigne, knight. First written by him in French, and now done into English by him that hath inuiolably vowed his labors to the Æternitie of their Honors, whose names he hath seuerally inscribed on these his consecrated Altares. The first Booke to the Right Honorable Lucie Co. of Bedford, and Ladie Anne Harrington, her Ho. Mother. The second Booke to the Right Honorable Elizabeth Co. of Rutland, and Lady Penelope Riche. The third Booke to the Right Honorable Ladie Elizabeth Grey and Ladie Marie Nevile. John Florio.

"Printed at London by Val. Sims, for Edward Blount, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, 1603." folio. From his address "to the courteous reader," we learn that this translation was undertaken at the suggestion of Sir Edward Wotton. It was reprinted in 1613, (Lowndes) and a third time in 1632. These later editions are dedicated to Queen Anna of Denmark, and prefixed are some commendatory verses by Sam. Daniel, to his "deare brother and friend Mr. John Florio, one of the Gentlemen of her Majesties most royal Privie Chamber." The original work was first published in 1588.

that previous to the year 1780, Mr. Patteson used to exhibit the volume to his friends as a curiosity, *on account of the autograph.* No public notice of it, however, was at any time made; and, contented with this faint notoriety, the autograph of Shakspere continued to slumber in the hands of this gentleman and his son, until by the friendly representations of Mr. Barnwell, the present owner was induced to bring it to the British Museum for inspection. Now, imperfect as this information is, yet it is ample of itself to set at rest all doubts that might at first naturally arise in the minds of those who are acquainted with the forgeries of Ireland, since, at the period when this volume was assuredly in the library at Smethwick, and known to contain Shakspere's autograph, this literary impostor was scarcely born. This fact must at once obviate any scruples in regard to the autograph now brought forward having emanated from the same manufactory which produced the "*Miscellaneous Papers.*" For myself, I may be permitted to remark, that the forgeries of Chatterton[b] and Ireland have always appeared to me thoroughly contemptible, and utterly unworthy of the controversy they occasioned; indeed, they can only be justly characterised in the words of Malone, as "the genuine offspring of consummate ignorance and unparalleled audacity."[c] At the present day the study and knowledge of ancient manuscripts, the progress of our language, and the rules of exact criticism in matters of this kind, have become too extensively

[b] The Chatterton forgeries are now preserved in the British Museum, MSS. Add. 5766, A. B. C. and exhibit the most decisive proofs of the impudence of the imposture, and the obstinate ignorance of those who were to the last its champions. These defenders of Rowley argue that Chatterton was incapable of reading any work of research; but if so, how is it we find among his fictions the list of Romances printed in Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, and a copy of the kneeling figure of one of the Howard family, in Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 847, which the impostor has partly altered, and then had the assurance to write around an inscription to the memory of *Sir Gualeroyn de Chatterton?* To those who may still have the least lingering wish to advocate the cause of Rowley, I recommend the task of decyphering eighteen lines in *the Purple Roll*, which for some reason or other have never yet been printed. It is worthy of remark, that one of these contemptible fragments is actually fastened to a portion of a genuine deed of the date of 10 Hen. IV. which in all probability is one of the very parchments that *did* come out of the celebrated *Chest*, and which is just what we might expect it to be, a quitclaim from one citizen of Bristol to another, of his right in four shops in the suburbs. See MSS. Add. 5766 A. fol. 28.

[c] Inquiry, p. 354.

bility, that it was from the perusal of this chapter that Shakspere was led to make an uninhabited island the scene of his *Tempest*, and from the title "Of the *Caniballes*," as it stands in Florio, he has evidently, by transposition, (as remarked by Dr. Farmer) formed the name of his man-monster *Caliban*.

The copy of Montaigne's work in Mr. Patteson's hands has suffered in some degree from damp, so that the fly-leaves at the beginning and end have become loose, and the edges somewhat worn. On the top of the same page which contains Shakspere's autograph, are written in a smaller, and, in my opinion, a more recent hand, two short sentences from the Thyestes of Seneca, Act v. *cecidit incassū dolor*, and *vota nō faciam improba*. The same hand, apparently, has written on the fly-leaf at the end of the volume many similar Latin sentences, with references to the pages of Montaigne's work, from which they are all borrowed, such as *Faber est suæ quisq; fortunæ.—Festinatio tarda est.—Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius, etc.* Could we believe these to have proceeded from Shakspere's hand, they would acquire a high degree of interest, but after an attentive examination of them, I am persuaded they were added by a later pen, and in this opinion I have been confirmed by the judgment of other persons versed in the writings of that period. A very few marginal notes occur in the volume, at pp. 134, 254, 513, which are by the same hand, to which also in all probability we must assign the word "Thessayes," written in ink on the back of the volume. The binding is in its original state, and no doubt the same as when the book was read by Shakspere.

Having thus stated all I can collect relative to the history of this treasure, I must beg leave, before I conclude, to make a few remarks on the orthography of Shakspere's name, as written by himself.

There are five acknowledged genuine signatures of Shakspere in existence, exclusive of the one which forms the subject of this communication. Of these, three are attached to his will in the Prerogative Court, executed 25th March, 1515-16; the fourth is written on a mortgage deed, dated 11th March 1612-13, of a small estate purchased by Shakspere of Henry Walker, in Blackfriars; and the fifth on the counterpart of the deed of bargain and sale of the same property, dated 10th March, 1612-13.

From a comparison of these with each other and with the autograph now first brought forward, it is most certain, in my opinion, that the Poet always

wrote his name SHAKSPERE, and, consequently, that those who have inserted an *e* after the *k*, or an *a* in the second syllable, do not write the name (as far as we are able to judge) in the same manner as the Poet himself uniformly would authorise us to do. This I state in opposition to Chalmers and Drake, who assert that "all the genuine signatures of Shakspeare are dissimilar."[f] Let us consider them separately, not according to the priority of dates, but in the order they were introduced to the notice of the public.

In the year 1776 George Steevens traced from the will of Shakspere the three signatures attached to it (one to each sheet), and they were engraved for the first time in the *second* edition of Shakspere by Johnson and Steevens, in 1778.[g] They have since been engraved in nearly all the subsequent editions; in Malone's "Inquiry," 1796; in Chalmers' "Apology," 1797; in Harding's "Essence of Malone," 1801; in Ireland's "Confessions," 1805; in Drake's "Shakspeare and his Times," 1817; and lastly, in J. G. Nichols's "Autographs," 1829; in which work they are, for the second time, traced from the original document. The first of these signatures, subscribed on the first sheet, at the right-hand corner of the paper, is decidedly *William Shakspere*, and no one has ever ventured to raise a doubt respecting the six last letters.[h] The second signature is at the left-hand corner of the second sheet, and is also clearly *Will'm Shakspere*, although from the tail of the letter *h* of the line above intervening between the *e* and *r*, Chalmers would fain raise an idle quibble as to the omission of a letter. The third signature has been the

[f] "Apology," p. 426. Drake's "Shakspeare and his Times," vol. i. p. 17, 4to. 1817, who servilely copies Chalmers, and never took the trouble to see the original.

[g] Mr. J. G. Nichols is therefore in error, when he supposes these signatures were first traced from the Will for Malone's "Inquiry," published in 1796. See his "Autographs of Remarkable Personages," fol. Lond. 1829. No. 11. B.

[h] From a close examination of the original, it appears that this first signature has been considerably damaged since Steevens's time, and two of the letters are no longer legible, as may also be seen in Nichols. It may be remarked, in addition, that Steevens has evidently confounded this signature with the name of *Shackspeare* written at the top of the same margin by the scrivener, and by doing so, has misled Dr. Drake, although he might have been taught better by Chalmers, "Apology," p. 426, note. As to Chalmers's notion (copied of course by Drake) that there is a *c* inserted before the *k*, it is not correct, and he has been misled by a straggling open *a*.

subject of greater controversy, and has usually been read *By me William Shakspeare.* Malone, however, was the first publicly to abjure this reading, and in his "Inquiry," p. 117, owns the error to have been pointed out to him by an anonymous correspondent, who "shewed most clearly that the superfluous stroke in the letter *r* was only the tremor of his (Shakspere's) hand, and no *a*." In this opinion, after the most scrupulous examination, I entirely concur, and can repeat with confidence the words of Mr. Boaden, that "if there be truth in sight, the Poet himself inserted no *a* in the second syllable of his name."[i] The only remaining remark I have to make respecting the will (which it is to be regretted, has never yet been printed as it ought to be, with the original orthography and interlineations) is, that the date of execution was written at first *Januarii* (not *Februarii*, as Malone states), over which *Martii* has been written, and that throughout the body of the document the scrivener has written the testator's name *Shackspeare*, whereas on the outside it is docketed twice by the clerk of the Prerogative Court as the will of Mr. *Shackspere.*

The next document is the mortgage deed, which was discovered in 1768 by Mr. Albany Willis, a solicitor, among the title deeds of the Rev. Mr. Featherstonehaugh, of Oxted, in Surrey, and was presented to Garrick. From the label of this, the fac-simile in Malone's edition of Shakspeare, 1790, was executed, bearing this appearance, *Wm Shakspᵃe;* and on this, in conjunction with the third signature of the will, was founded Malone's mistake in printing the name with an *a* in the second syllable. The deed was at that time in the possession of Mrs. Garrick; but in 1796, when Malone published his "Inquiry," and had become convinced of his error, and of the fault of his engraver, in substituting what looks like the letter *a* instead of *re*, (which it ought to be), the original document was missing, and could not be consulted for the purpose of rectifying

i "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of various portraits of Shakspeare," 4to. Lond. 1824, p. 62. I do not, however, agree with the author, that this circumstance is of itself an argument against the authenticity of the portrait of Shakspere in the possession of Mr. William Nicol, of Pall Mall. Since Boaden's publication the letters read *R. N.* on the portrait have turned out to be *R. B.* which, if they designate *Richard Burbage*, would prove Steevens to be in the right after all.

the mistake.[k] Malone has been very severely handled by Chalmers and the facetious George Hardinge, for this apparent inconsistency; but a few words may plead Malone's excuse. Steevens and himself, in 1778, resolved to exclude the *e* after the *k* in the poet's name, and accordingly the second edition of that year appeared with the title-pages so corrected, and the third edition of 1784, so corrected throughout. It was therefore only in reference to this *e* that Malone laid down the rule for its exclusion, in his edition of 1790, vol. i. pt. i. p. 192; for as to the *a*, its insertion at that time had not been questioned. In 1796, therefore, when Malone again touched on the subject, and declared against the *a* in the second syllable also, he by no means contradicts himself, but writes from the fuller evidence he had obtained on the subject.

This evidence forms the third document bearing Shakspere's signature, viz. the counterpart of the deed of bargain and sale, dated the day before the mortgage deed. This also was found among Mr. Featherstonehaugh's evidences, and in 1796 was in the hands of Mr. Willis, who lent it to Malone, to print in his often quoted "Inquiry." Here the signature is, beyond all cavil or suspicion, *William Shakspe͠*, where the mark above is the usual abbreviation of the period for the final *e*.[l]

To these we have now to add the autograph before us, in Florio's volume, which so unquestionably decides in favour of *Shakspere*, that in this manner I shall beg leave in future to write it, since I know no reason why we should not sooner take the poet's own authority in this point, than that of his friends or printers.[m]

At the same time it must be admitted, that if we disregard the form traced by the poet's own hand, the whole weight of printed evidence of his time

k Ireland states, "Confessions," p. 88, that this document was bequeathed by Garrick to the British Museum, which is not true. How it was lost remains, I believe, a mystery; but its production, I am firmly convinced, would corroborate the reading of *Shakspere*.

l See Malone, Pl. ii. No. x. Query, what has become of this document?

m To those deeply interested in the subject it may be as well to add, that the name of our poet both at his baptism and burial in the Stratford register is spelt *Shakspere*, and so are the names of other members of his family, between the years 1558 to 1593, and in the marriage licence recently discovered in the Consistorial Court of Worcester, it is spelt *Shagspere*, which, in effect, is the same thing.

(with few exceptions) is in favour of *Shakespeare*,[n] as still adhered to by Mr. Collier, whose recent discoveries and publications on the subject of Shakspere and his writings,[o] entitle him to the hearty thanks of every admirer of our great dramatic writer, both in England and abroad.

Here I might close my case; but a few words more may be requisite in regard to some other *presumed* specimens of Shakspere's handwriting. I would certainly not go so far as Malone in asserting, that if any other original letter or MS. of his should be discovered, his name would appear as just written;[p] but I think any variation would afford reasonable cause for suspicion. Since I commenced this paper, I have discovered that two other volumes claim the honour of containing Shakspere's autograph, *not* manufactured by Ireland. The first of these is a copy of Warner's Albion's England, 4to. 1612, which was bought at Steevens's sale in 1800, by Mr. Heber, and which is now in the British Museum. On the title page is "William Shakspeare his booke," and it will be evident to any one who takes the trouble of comparing it with the similar notorious forgeries of Ireland, on a copy of Holland's translation of Pliny, folio, 1601, and on Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus rerum, *Tho. Berthelet*, [1535] fol. in Sir Joseph Banks's library, that they all three are traced by the same hand. Whether Steevens had any hand in Ireland's fabrications, is a discussion foreign to my purpose; but I do not think it *very* improbable. The second claimant is a copy of Bacon's Advancement of Learning, 1605. In 1829, it was in the possession of Mr. Thomas Fisher, of the East India House, and is described as being "filled with MS. notes." It bears *in limine* the same signature as in Warner's work, and a fac-simile of it is given by Nichols, in his Autographs. From an inspection of this (for I have not seen the volume itself), I should unhesitatingly say, that the signature is a modern fabrication, and subsequent inquiry has placed the fact beyond all question.[q]

[n] See the evidence summed up, but not without many inaccuracies, in "Another Essence of Malone," 8vo. 1801, pp. 73-96, which was published anonymously by Geo. Hardinge.

[o] "New Facts regarding the Life of Shakespeare," &c. 12mo. 1835, and "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare," &c. 12mo. 1836.

[p] "Inquiry," p. 120.

[q] See Wheler's Guide to Stratford-upon-Avon, 12mo. 1834, p. 143, where mention is made of a forgery of Shakspere's name, executed by John Jordan, author of a local poem called "Welcombe Hills," which has recently been ascertained to be the one referred to in the text.

Only one document remains to be noticed, the genuineness of which, if established, would make even the autograph in Florio to "vail its bonnet." I allude to the copy of verses existing at Bridgewater House, signed "W. Sh." and printed by Mr. Collier, in his "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare." As far as the internal evidence goes, I do not see any reasonable objection against them; but, as no fac-simile has yet appeared of the original, it is impossible at present to offer any further remark. Mr. Collier urges their claim very modestly and fairly; but, as the paper *may* itself be a *transcript* of verses composed by Shakspere, some additional evidence is required, in regard to the handwriting, &c. to enable any critic in matters of this kind, to form an opinion.

I remain, my dear Sir,

yours very truly,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

JOHN GAGE, Esq. Director A.S.
&c. &c.&c.

X. "*A Description of the Province of Connaught,*" *dated in the month of* "*January,* 1612," *from a Volume of the Lansdowne Manuscripts, preserved in the British Museum,* N°. 255, *communicated by Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 9th March, 1837.

"CONNAGHT, by the antient division amonge the Irish, was accompted the fifte parte or Cocge of the Iland of Ireland, and was then and is still called by the name of Cocge Connaght, and contynewed the name and stile of a Kingdome in the posterity of Con Kedcagh, one of the three races discended of Mylle Spaynagh, whome all the Cronicles of Ireland agree to be the absolute conqueror of the whole island.

"The antyent borders of Connaght were towards the east and south the river of Shaenan, towards the west the Sea, and towards the north the river of Ballashennagh and the Loghe-Ecarne.

"Off this Cocg Coñaght, a porc̃on now called Thomond, lyinge towards the south, to the river of Shenan, whether by gift or conquest, hath beene a long time possest by the O'Brians, beinge discended of another race of Mylle Spaynagh, whoe at this daye enioye yt. The earle of Thomond beinge the cheeffe of that name. Yett it was helde within the governement of Connaght till the beginninge of his Ma^tie^s raigne, to gratefie the Earle of Thomond. The Earle of Clanricard was contented it shold be devided from the government of Connaght.

"The residewe of Coñaght contynewed in the possession of the forenamed posterity of Con Kedcagh, the ancestor of O'Cono^r^ Dun, beinge king thereof, till the kingdom ceased by the conquest of the English.

"In the first conquest of Ireland duringe the reigne of Henry the second and King John, the English hadd litle ffootinge in Coñaght, leaving noe other remarqueable monument of their conquest, but the castle of Athlone at the east border of the province; and Roscomon six miles from the Shenan into the province.

"Afterward in the tyme of king Henry the third and (as it may be supposed) duringe the prosperity of Hubert de Burgo, Earle of Kent, and principal governor under that king, John de Burgo and Richard de Burgo, his sonnes, made an entry and conquest into Coñaght, by all likelyhood makinge their first attempte in the Bay of Galwaye; conquered upon the ô Heynes, the ô Shagnẽses towards Thomond, upon the Kellyes, the ô Maddyns, and the ô Conors towards the east, in some places as farr, and beyond the river of Sucke; from thence they caryed their conquest onwarde upon the M^{c}Dermotts and M^{c}Conolls, to the sea side as far as the river of Moye, the border now betweene the countyes of Maio and Sligoe, leavinge on theire left hande the ô Flaghertyes and the ô Malyes, and the Joyes, by reason of the streingth and desertness of theire contryes.

"All this conquested land Richard de Burgo held as a soveraigne lordeshipp, allotting great portions of lands to those that assisted him in the conquest, which ever since have contynewed in their posterytyes, and some of them were reputed Barrons of their contryes, as Bermingham barron of Athenry, Prendergast barron of Crosboghyn, now Clanmorris, Nangle barron of Bellahaunes, now called Costillo, Stannton, Barrett, and sondry others. The residewe he retayned to himselfe and his own name and race, who are devided into many families of great continuance and revenewe.

"Off Richard de Burgo descended the earles of Ulster, whose heier was marryed to Lyonell Duke of Clarence, and the now earle of Clanricard, who possesseth the auncyent howse, and honorable marques of that conquest.

"The residew of Coñaught that preserved themselves from the Englyshe contynewed in the hands of the ancyent Irish lords, the cheefe of whom were the three races of the ô Conors, as ô Conor Dun, and ô Coñor Roe whoe now possesseth the Maghry of Conaght, and ô Coñor Sligoe, who tooke upon him to make head against the English at the river of Moye, and hath since reteyned

the cheeffe comaund over the Irish in these parts, that are now called the county of Sligoe.

"The ô Heynes were utterly banished; the ô Shaghnesses remayne a rich and hable family; the ô Maddens reteyne a fast contry nere the Shenan, called Shilandye, where they contynewe but a weake and poore family. The ô Kellys retayned a lardge contry called Imanny, from within fifteen myles of Galwaie to the Shenan, and doe yet possess the most parte of it. The ô Flaghatyes reteyned the contry of Eyrecoñaght west from Galwaie, alonge the baye of Galwaie and the west sea. The O'Malyes reteyned the Owles lyinge on the sowth parte of the county of Maio, towards Eyrtcoñaght, and bordereth on the west sea. The O'Dowds, the McDonoghes, the O'Haraes, and the O'Hartes reteyned the residewe of the county of Sligoe, besides that which O'Coñor Sligoe held. The O'Rowrkes, McGlanaggyes, and their followers reteyned all the county of Leytrym, to the borders of Vlster, upon the countyes of Fermanagh and Cavan. The McDermotts reteyned all the residewe of the county of Rosscoman, northe from the O'Coñors unto the borders of Sligoe and Leytryme.

"Within Conaght there were aunciently many bishops' seas, which are now by union brought to one archbishopprick, whose sea is at Tuam, three bishoppricks, whose seas are Clonfort united to Kilmacough, Kilalla vnited to Ardconragh, and Elphine.

"Vntil the beginning of the reigne of Queen Elizabeth the ordinary justice of the Kingdome hadd litle passage in Conaght, the English races remayninge under the rule of the Bowrks, and the Irishry under the cheeffes of every particular septe, the whole province bearinge the name of the county of Cõnaght, whereof there was one sherriffe whom the people little respected, at what time the said Queene erected a presideall seate, and establyshed a president and councell, for the administration of justice within the province, and devided yt into five shyers, which ordynance contynewes unto this tyme.

"The five shiers are Roscoman, Galway, Mayo, Sligoe, and Leytrym.

"The county of Roscoman bordereth on the east to the river of Shenan, on the sowth and west to the countyes of Galwaye and Mayo, on the north and north-west to the counties of Sligoe and Leytrym.

"The countie of Galwaie bordereth on the east, partly to the river of Shenan,

and part to the river of Suck, on the sowth to the county of Clare, called Thomond, on the sowth-west and sowth to the baye of Galwaie and the sea, on the north and north-west to the county of Mayo.

"The county of Mayo lyeth on the east to the county of Roscoman, on the sowth and sowth-east to the county of Galwaie, on the west to the sea, on the north to the county of Sligoe.

"The county of Sligoe bordereth on the east and sowth-east to the counties of Leytrym and Roscoman, on the sowth to the county of Maio, on the west to the sea, on the north to the river of Bellashañagh, and the counties of Donegall and Fermanagh.

"The county of Leytrym lyeth on the east to the counties of Cavan and Longford, on the sowth to the ryver of Shenan and the county of Roscoman, on the west to the county of Sligoe, on the northe to the county of Fermanagh.

"The county of Roscoman hath none of the ancyent Englysh races, only a little porc̃on on the east of the river of Sucke belonginge to M^{c}Dauye, one of the Bowrks; of new Englysh, Malbye whoe hath the manner of Roscoman, S^{r} Jo. King the Abbay of Boyle, Brabazon whoe hath Ballinesloe, the heiers of S^{r} Thomas Lestrange, whoe have the Lordship of Atheige, and some others seated there and since the warres. Off Englysh transported out of the pale, the Barron of Dalvin and some of the Nugents, S^{r} Theobald Dillon, and dyvers others. Off the Irishrye, O'Coñor Dun, and O'Coñor Roe, and the M^{c}Dermotts, the O'Kellyes, by east the Sucke, the O'Hanlyes, the O'Flanegans, the Fallons, the Naghtons, and dyvers others.

"The county of Galwaie hath of ancyent Englysh, the Earl of Clanricard, whoe hath all Clanricard to himselfe and his kinsmen and followers; Birmingham, Barron of Athenry, whoe, though he hath his name of honor in Clanricard, yet he hath his country in the barrony of Dunmore apart. Off new Englysh none, nor any English transported out of the pale. Off Irishrye the O'Shaghneses, the O'Maddens, the O'Kellyes, by west the Sucke, the O'Flaghertyes, the O'Heynes, the Donellans, and other inferyor septes.

"The county of Mayo hath of ancient Englysh the Bowrks, that contynewed the name of M^{c}William till yt was by the composic̃on abolyshed. The Prendergasts, called now M^{c}Costelloes, the Dexters called M^{c}Jordans, the Stantons called M^{c}Evillyes, the Barretts called M^{c}Padins, the Rotchforts, and many

other inferior septes of the Bowrks, as the McMoylers, the McGibbons, the McPhillippins, and sondry others. Off new Englysh, John Moore who hath the contry of Clanmorris, and some of the Binghams. Off Englysh transported out of the pale, the Earle of Ormond, whoe hath Burresowle, Sr Tibbot Dillon, whoe hath the contry of Clancostilloe, the Bowens, and some others. Off Irishrye none but the O'Mayles, whoe possess the wast contry of the Owles.

"The county of Sligoe hath of ancyent or new Englyshe, none. Off Englysh transported out of the pale, Sr William Taaffe, whoe hath the towne and abaye of Sligoe, and the lordshipp of Ballymote, some of the Nugents, and others. Off Irishry O'Connor Sligoe, the McDonoghes, the O'Dowdes, the O'Haraes, the O'Hartes, some of the McSwines, and others.

"The county of Leytrym hath neither ancyent nor new Englysh, nor any transported from the pale. Off Iryshry, O'Rowrke and those that live under him, as the McRanells, the Clonloghims, the Clanmurryes, the Clanowens, and such others; and McGlanaghy, who possesseth the Dartrye, and is a lord of himselfe.

"This province hath only two corporacons, the ancient monuments of the English conquerors, and inhabited only by English famylyes and surnames.

"The one is Galwaie, a walled towne and porte of the sea, lately made a county, and governed by a mayor and two sherryffes; the town is small but all of fayer and stately buildinges, the fronts of theire howses towards the streets, beinge all of hewed stone, upp to the topp, and garnyshed with fayer battlements in an uniforme cowrse, as if the whole towne hadd beene builte upon one modell. The merchants are riche and great adventurers at sea; their comunaltye is composed of the descendants of the ancyent Englyshe founders of the towne, and rarely admitt any new Englysh to have freedome or education amonge them, and never any of the Irish. They keepe goode hospitallity and are kind to strangers, and in their manner of entertaynement and in fashioning and apparellinge themselves and their wives, doe most preserve the ancyent manner and state of any town that ever I sawe. The towne is built upon a rocke envyroned almost with the sea and the ryver, compassed with a stronge wall, and good defences, after the auncient manner, and such as with a fewe men it may defend itself against any army.

"The other is Athenrye, eight myles from Galwaie into the land, and as it is said elder than yt. A towne, as it seemes, built by the Englysh Conquerors whiles they hadd their swords in their hands, and kept themselves close in garryson against the attempts of the Irish. But after the English hadd planted themselves in strong castles abrode, and left their holds, the towne became to be abandoned, and vtterly decayed, and now hath very small and poore habitacõn and people, yet the walls stand still large in compass, and very strong and fayer.

"There are in this Province many fayer and cõmodyous havens and inlets from the sea, whereof great vse and proffit may be made, whereas they nowe remayne for the moste parte neglected and vnprofitable, and open for any enemy to possess at his pleasure.

"The first and sowthermost is the baye of Galwaie, an inlett of thirty or forty myles into the land, and almost twenty myles broade at the entrye, havinge in the middest thereof the Isles of Aaron; betweene theis Islands and the roade of Galwaie any shipp may ride at tenn or twelve fathome, and yf the wind blowe heare at sowth and sowthwest, they must of necessity come to ancker in the roade of Galwaie, where the greatest shipp may come and ryde at all weathers without dainger; within this roade there lyeth a small Islande called Mutton Island, where a platform with a fewe peeces of artyllery may at pleasure sincke any shipp or force her on the rockes. The forte of Galwaie may likewise beate this roade, and that ffoarte is of excellent use, both for the comaundinge of the towne, and for giving annoyance or favor to such shippes as shall road there.

"Towards the north-west shoare, betweene the roade of Galwaie and the Isles of Aaron in the same baye, is an harborough called the Ketlinge; the entry is so deepe as the greatest shipp of his Maties may come in at lowe water, and runne vpp three myles without dainger, and ryde at tenn fathom water and good ground, and of capacity to receave fower hondreth shippes. From this harborough an enemy may, in six howers, marche to the west gate of Galwaie, and finde nothing in his way to resyst him; the harborough maye be secured by buildinge a ffoarte on the west side of the entrye, which may comaund any vessell that comes there, and all the harbrogh. Here is a good fysshinge for hearing and salmon.

"Next to the Ketlinge sowthward is the road in the Isles of Aaron called St. Gregory's sound, where an hundred Shippes of good burthen may ryde at any tyme. An enemy possessinge this sound may be master of all the Isles of Aaron (which are well inhabited) and comaund all the baye. It may be secured by buildinge a fourte in the greate Island, and be of greate vse and ymportance. It was heretofore projected, and the late Queene gave a liberall allowance of land and comaund for the doeinge of yt; but, accordinge to the vsuall fate of this Kingdome, it was not looked after, and soe cast awaye. The Englyshe, Brittenes, and Portugalls, in tymes past, hadd a greate trade of fyshinge here, for Codd, Linge, Hake, and Conger, which wold contynew still yf yt were vndertaken.

"The next harborough northwest from the Isles of Aaron, is Enmy's Duffin, comonly called the blacke Rocke, a small entry and daingerous for a shipp above a hundred tonnes, but, beinge in, an houndred shippes may ryde quiettly, from twelve fathome to three fathome. A small Fourte will secure and comaund this whole roade; here is a good fyshinge for Codd and Linge, and much frequented by His Majesty's subjects and others.

"The next harborough where any shippinge may come in, is an Island, called Rocland, north from Blackrock, an ill place to ventur upon without a pylott from Blackrock. Under this Island a shipp may ride from twenty fathome to three fathome; and a Forte there will secure and comaund the roade; yt is a good fyshinge and plentifull for Codd, Linge, &c. and much haunted by English and Dutch.

"Next towards the North, is the Bay of Ballycroane in Erris, greate and spacious, but noe Shippinge will willingly come there yf they can get any other harborough; the Bay is so broad as noe forte from land can forbidd any shippinge to road there. The fyshinge is very good, but they must be forced still to keepe the deepes and ancker at noe less than ten fathome, becawse the shoares on both sydes are fowle and rocky.

"North-west from that Baye, lyeth the Island of Enniskey, where good numbers of small shippinge may roade, at three fathome water. A small Foarte in the Island may secure and comaund all the roade, and yet is the best and plentyfullest fyshinge of all the West of Ireland.

"Next to that northward is Inver, commonly called the broad haven, so yt

is broad within, but the entry such as a Poarte with artillery, on the sowth parte of the harborough, may sincke any vessell. Three hondred sayle may roade here without annoying one an other. The fyshinge is good and plentyfull for Codd, Linge, Hearinge, &c.

"The next harborough northward is Moyne in Tyrawlye, where noe good shipp of burthen cann enter farther then the Baye without, where on the west syde good stoare of shippinge maye ryde in a lardge and salfe roade, from twenty fathome to sixe fathome, and no wynd to wronge them but from the north-west, with which they may safely go to sea, if yt overblow. This Bay is so wide as no Fortification can secure or defend yt. Here is a great ffyshinge of Salmon and Hearinge, &c.

"The next and last towards the north is that of Sligoe, where a shipp of two hondred tonne may enter, so she bring her tyde with her. The roade is between the small Islands and the Mayne at eight fathome water. A small Foarte in the Island would comaund this roade, and yt hath an excellent fyshinge for Codd and Linge without, and for Salmon within.

"The ryuer of Shenan, dividinge most parte of the Province of Coñaught from the Irysh Coñtryes of Leinster, hath many foards and passadges which are needfull to be knowne and cared for, for the better orderyng of yt in all tymes of troble or rebellyon.

"There are from Carra Drumrusk (towards the heade of the Shenan, betweene the County of Roscoman and the County of Leytryme, and where His Majestie hath a Foarte and a Warde) unto Portumna my Lo. of Clanriccards house betweene the County of Galwaye and Ormond, almost thirty foards that are passable in the soñer, almost all, savinge Portumna and one or two aboute it. But the moste to be respected are Carra Drumrusk, which is already secured by His Majesties forte; next to that Ballalenge, which was intended to be secured, and a ward placed there, aud money allowed for the rebuildinge of an ancient forte built by the first Conquerors, but S^{r} Patrick Barnewalls works over agaynst yt hath devoured the Kinges forte, and so yt is nowe quitted.

"Athlone hath his Majesties Castle, and a bridge, anciently made by the English, and rebuilte in the government of Sir Henry Sidney.

"The next to that, of importance, is the passadge of Agha-Croghe upon

McCoghlanes Contrye, which lyes open, and is noysome to that parte of the Province.

"There are two more at Mellicks and Portumna, both my Lo. of Clanriccards, and well secured by his Lordships Castells.

"The rest, though they be at some tymes passable, yett are less used and nothing so hurtfull to the Province.

"The Government of Connaught (conformable to the other parts of the Kingdome) is by the comon lawes and statutes of the Realme, resortinge to the Chauncery and other Courtes at Dublin, and to the Justices of Assize and Gaol delivery in their Circuitts.

"The Gouernment extraordinary is consigned into the hands of a President, and Vice-president in his absence, whoe hath the absolute marshall power within the Province, and comaund of the warres, unlesse the Lo. Deputie come into the Province.

"For the Civill parte, he hath a boddy of Councellors, who with him are aucthorysed to heare and order civil complaints, after the manner and rule of the Presidencye of Wales. He hath for his Assistantes a Justice and an Atturneye learned in the lawes, and a Clarke of the Councell to order the pleadings, a Sergeant at Armes to attend him and execute his Comaundements, and a gentlemen Porter to keep the Prysoners.

"His Majestys ordinary chardge within the Province, as I gather by estimacyon, not farre erring from the certenty, is:

"The entertaynment of the Lo. President for hymself and his retynewe, and for the maintayninge of a diett for the Councell, amounteth to nyne hundred pounds sterlinge per annum.

"The Justice his fee one hundred pounds sterling per annum.

"The Kinges atturney twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"The Clerke of the Councell twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"The Sergeant at Armes and Gentleman Porter, beinge both executed by one man, twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"There are other officers residing within the Province, as

"The Clarke of the Assises and of the Peace, beinge in one mañes hande throughout the Province. His fee twenty pounds sterling per annum:

"A Provost-Marshall, whose enterteignement amounteth to one hondred pounds sterlinge per annum:

"A Comyssary of Victualls, his enterteynem[t] at an hondred and twenty pounds sterling per annum:

"A Clarke of the Municoñ at fforty pounde ster. per annū.

"The Garryson, as well ordinary as extraordinary, nowe in entertaynement within the Province, viz[t].

"A band of Horsemen consisting of twenty-five, vnder the coñaund of the Lo: President, theire entertaynement amounting to ffive hondred and fyfty pounds sterling per annum: and twelve horsemen to attend the Provost Marshall, amounting to two hondred and twenty pounds sterling per annum. There are also three bands of ffootemen, consisting each of fyfty, under the comaund of the Lo: President, Sir Oliver S[t]. John Vice-president, and S[r] Thomas Rotherham Captaine of the Foarte of Galwaie: theire whole enterteynem[t] amountinge to one thousand eight hondred pounds sterling per annum.

"Also his Majestie maintaynes a ward in the Castle of Athlone, consisting of a Constable and twenty warders, whose enterteynements amounte to two hondred pounds sterlinge per annum.

"And a warde at Berishowle in the county of Maio, consisting of a Constable and ten wardors, theire enterteynements amountinge to one hondred and twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"And a warde at Carra-Drumrusk, a passage at the upper end of the river of Shenan, between the Counties of Roscoman and Leytrym, consisting of a Constable and nine wardors, their entertaynement amounting to one hondred and tenn pound per annum.

"And a ward at Ballinefadd, at the passadge of the mountayne of the Curlewes into the County of Sligoe, consysting of a Constable and tenn wardors at one hondred and twenty pounds sterling per annum.

"Also a Commyssary of the Musters within the Province, at fortye (pound) sterlinge per annum.

"And twoe gunners, the one in the Foarte of Galwaye, the other at the Castell of Athlone, theire enterteynement amounting betweene them to fforty pound ster. p annum.

"And so His Majestys whole chardge within the province of Cõnaght, ordynary and extraordinary, as well for the civill as the marshall parte, as yt now

standeth, according to this estymate amounteth to fower thousand five hondred and forty pounds sterlinge per annum.

"His Majesties revenewe, ordynary and extraordinary, within the Province, besides casualtyes, as first fruits, forfeitures, excheats, wardshippes, fynes, and amercyaments, consysts of auncyent revenewes, composicion in lewe of cesse, customes outwards and inwards, and impost of wynes.

"The ancyent revenue with the rent of Abbayes amounteth communibus annis to fower hundred pounds sterling. The Composicõn in lewe of cess, after the rate of tenn shillings every quarter chardgeable and inhabyted, amounteth to (this yeare) two thousand and fower hondred pounds sterling. The Cus tomes of the 20th parte in Galwaie, and other partes in the province, two hondred pounds sterling per annum. The impost of wynes, six hondred pounds sterling per annum. The Casualtyes, which are yett meanely looked into, communibus annis two hondred pounds sterling.

"Soe the whole revenewes, ordynary and extraordynary, according to this estymatt as now they growe, amount to three thowsand eight hondred pound ster. per annum.

"And so His Majestie stands chardged in Conaght, over and above the revenewe there by this estymate, seaven hondred and forty pounds sterling per annum, which with good care may easily be gotten and much more."

XI. *A further Account of the original Architecture of Westminster Hall. In a Letter from* SYDNEY SMIRKE, *Esq. F.S.A. to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 2nd February, 1837.

DEAR SIR, 12, Regent Street, January 1837.

SINCE the date of my last communication to you respecting the restoration of Westminster Hall now in progress under the direction of my brother, Sir Robert Smirke, the interior of that building has been completed, and the exterior is now under the hands of the mason. You will remember, that in the course of the internal repair, I stated that a vast number of carved stone fragments of the older Norman Hall were met with, which had been used in some cases as ashlaring for the new face given to the walls from the string-course upwards in the reign of Richard II., but in most cases merely as rubble for filling up and rendering solid those parts which had been previously void. Some of these fragments of the original building, however, had remained undisturbed in their proper positions; for it does not appear that those who were employed in renovating the Hall at the last mentioned period gave themselves the trouble to move more stones than was absolutely necessary in order to effect their alterations. By means of these undisturbed remains it has been an easy task to compose a complete restoration of one side of the Norman Hall, a drawing of which I have the pleasure to forward to you.

Very little of this restoration is imaginary; for, except the position of one or two of the arches, there were seen either on one side of the Hall or the other, stones enough in their original places fully to bear out all I have attempted to show on this drawing. The remarkable irregularity in the position of the smaller arches would be scarcely supposed probable, if the evidence of it was not decisive and indisputable; but I must own myself at a loss to account for

such apparently gratuitous deviations from uniformity; although it is possible that the situation of adjacent pre-existing buildings, or perhaps indeed some internal arrangements of the Hall, of which we have now no knowledge, may have caused the anomaly.

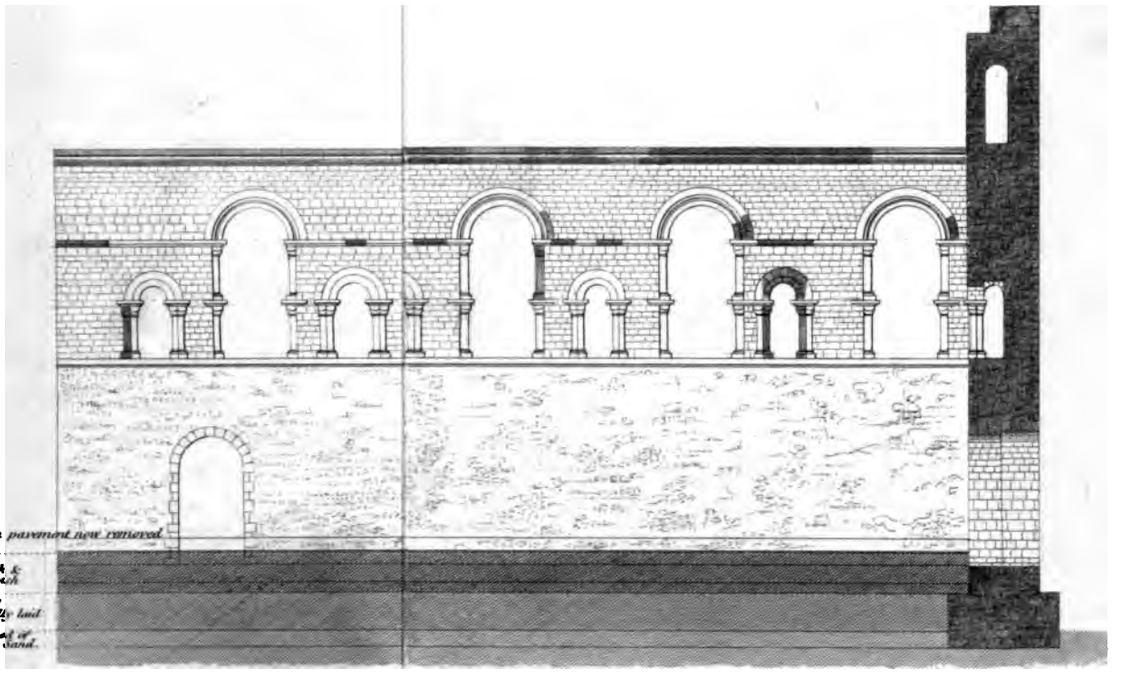
With regard to the north and south ends of the Hall, the immense windows formed at the close of the fourteenth century have obliterated the greater part of the original work. At the north end no trace of Norman work presented itself; although I should add, that, as it was not found necessary to repair much of the masonry at this end, the interior of the Hall here did not undergo so searching an examination as the other parts of the Hall underwent.

At the south end there was unquestionable evidence that the clerestory, and the arched passage on a level with it, was originally continued along this end, uniformly with the two sides of the Hall; above these there were also found remnants of another arched passage obtained in the thickness of the wall, at this south end, and connected with the turret stair at the south-east angle of the Hall, adjacent to the north-west angle of St. Stephen's Chapel. It is not very apparent what was the use of this last mentioned passage; the floor of it was at, or about, the level of the top of the side-walls when at their original height; therefore it seems scarcely possible that this passage could have had any connection with the interior of the Hall. It seems the most probable conjecture that, as the roof of the Hall was no doubt gabled either in *one* great span, as at present, (which is not likely,) or in *three* spans, (which appears to me most probable,) this passage may have been merely destined to give a ready means of communication between the gutters on the two opposite sides of the building.

I have shewn on the accompanying section, the moulded cornice on the top of the wall, which was found pretty nearly entire: its mouldings forbid us to ascribe them to the earliest work of the Hall; but, as the ashlared facing of the fourteenth century was built up against it, and in a great measure concealed it, it is to be inferred that the cornice is of some date intermediate between the early Norman work and the restorations in Richard the Second's reign.

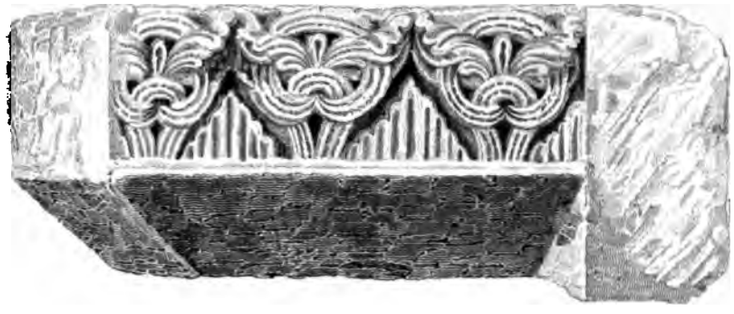
I will now proceed to notice the partial restorations in progress on the exterior of the building:

In removing the decayed stonework of the great buttresses, and of the out-



J^r Basire. sculp.









3 6 9 12 inches.

Capitals belonging to the Norman Building of Westminster Hall.

J. Basire del.et sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 21st 1837

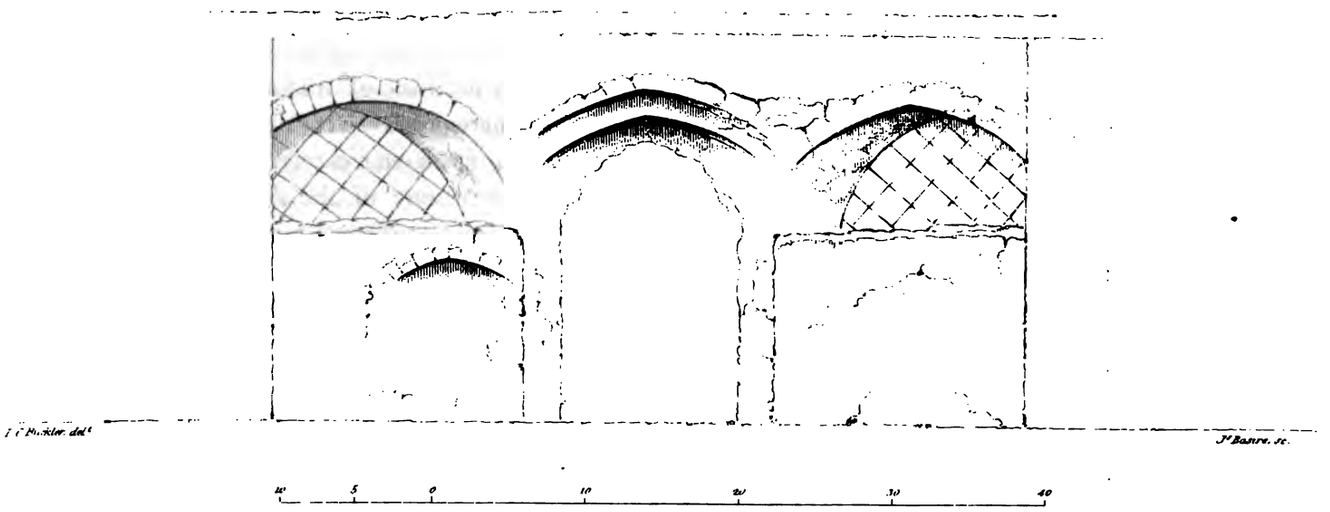
side face of the main walls, many more remnants of the old Hall were discovered, which had been used and built in with their carved and moulded parts inwards, and their squared backs or beds outwards, exactly as I have formerly described similar fragments to have occurred within the Hall. I send you some of the more perfect of these fragments, for the inspection of the Society. One of the capitals represents an armed man assailing a castle; at least that seems the most probable explanation of this rude sculpture: the subject of the carving on the other capital appears to be taken from Æsop's fable of the dog and the ass; on one side is the dog fauning on his master, who is leaning over and patting him, and two attendants are looking on; on the other face of the capital is seen the ass putting his fore legs on the master's shoulders, the latter turning to escape from the unwelcome caress, whilst of the two attendants one is beating the ass with a stick. The third fragment is a rather elegant fret, in so good a state of preservation as to lead us to believe that in its original position it had not been exposed to the weather: no similar carving has occurred in any part of the walls, and I have no clue whatever to its former position.

The outside of the Norman Hall was not entirely destitute of ornament. I mentioned in my former letter that the reveals of the windows were decorated with the usual Norman column and impost, resting upon the carved string-course, a representation of which is given in the last volume of the Archaeologia; and the subsequent progress of the work has fully confirmed my former observations.

Besides this ornamental clerestory, recent examinations of the external masonry of the south end have laid open decisive indications, considerably higher than the clerestory, of one of those series of recesses, or arcades in relief, which so commonly occur in Norman and other Romanesque architecture. The extensive repairs done to the south end in the seventeenth century had nearly effaced this arcade, but at the east angle enough remained undisturbed to establish its existence. Parts of the shafts of two small columns, with their bases, were found untouched, the diameter of each being about six inches. The face of the wall between the columns was found to have been reticulated work, similar to that which occurs on the west end of Rochester cathedral, and in other buildings of corresponding date both

in England and on the Continent, and which is one of the most cogent evidences of the classic derivation of the Romanesque style. The stones which composed this reticulated work are about seven inches square, varying in depth on their bed from seven to nine inches. They are alternately of Caen stone and Reigate stone, so that, as the former is a bright-coloured material, and the latter grey, the work when new must have had a chequered appearance, resembling, although in a less degree, the parti-coloured masonry observable in the medieval architecture of the north of Italy.

It is worthy of notice here, that in 1822, when the exterior of the north end of the Hall was undergoing restoration, Mr. J. C. Buckler informs me, that behind the ornamental porch which was built up against the old north wall at the end of the fourteenth century, he observed portions of three large arches. The centre one had been nearly cut away in forming the great doorway, but the two side arches had their circular heads but little disturbed; they appeared to have been blank, and to have been filled in with reticulated masonry like



North Front... Westminster Hall.
March. 1822.

that which I have stated to have been recently exposed to view at the south end; these three arches were soon again concealed from view by the progress of the restoration, but Mr. Buckler availed himself of the opportunity thus temporarily afforded him, of making a slight sketch of this part of the Norman Hall in its earliest state, a copy of which, kindly communicated to me by him, I beg to exhibit to the Society.

In concluding this short notice, I cannot refrain from congratulating those who are interested in the architectural history of this country, on the timely and substantial repair which the liberality of Parliament has bestowed upon this great monument.

Time, and a series of alterations executed without due caution, had put this Hall in greater jeopardy than a superficial view would have led one to suppose. The side walls were in some places considerably out of the perpendicular; and formidable fissures cleft the whole substance of the walls, both at the north-east angle and near the south end of the west side. At the latter spot a hollow space was found to have been left in the masonry, capacious enough to admit several men, almost exactly over which was imposed one of the huge trusses of the roof. These defects, added to the indifferent execution of the original masonry throughout, had produced, and were producing, effects which at no distant period might have been attended with serious consequences.

There is now no reason to doubt that posterity, for many years to come, will have the gratification of contemplating Westminster Hall in all its integrity; unless, indeed, the contiguity of the proposed Parliamentary buildings should render necessary those very extensive alterations to which it is, I believe, intended to subject this Hall.

I remain, dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S.
Secretary.

XII. *Observations on the Roman Remains found in various parts of London, in the years* 1834, 1835, 1836. *By Mr.* Charles Roach Smith, *communicated in a letter to* A. J. Kempe, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 17th March, 1836.

Lothbury, February 25, 1836.

Sir,

AT the close of the year 1834, my attention was drawn to the excavations then in progress for sewers, and foundations of houses, in the extensive City improvements, from conviction, founded on former observations, but which opportunity did not then admit my taking advantage of, that the projected line of work at depths varying from twenty to fifty feet, could not fail to afford the means for obtaining some additional and corroborating information illustrative of the ancient occupation of the soil; and, finding that investigation was likley to be attended with some little success, I persevered in examining with all possible diligence the several excavations, and now submit to your notice, though necessarily in an abridged shape, an account of the result of my labours. I shall venture no further on your patience than will be consistent with recording the principal features in the City discoveries, without theorising or wandering from a statement of facts.

The vicinity of St. Michael's Church afforded in 1832 the materials for your interesting paper, printed in the twenty-third volume of the Archaeologia.

I commence my narrative in the same neighbourhood.

On either side of King William Street, at a depth ranging from fourteen to twenty feet, the evidences of Roman habitations became numerous.

Walls built with rough unhewn pieces of chalk (cemented by the firm mortar peculiar to Roman edifices), and containing in many instances an admixture of flints, were from time to time made visible. These walls apparently ran

underneath the above-named street, or at all events partially intersected it; but whether a connexion existed between the discernible intersections no means were afforded for ascertaining, as the excavations were so irregularly carried on, and the superintendants of the works unhappily disposed to raise every impediment in their power against investigation. I may however affirm that no highway was at any period during my attendance rendered perceptible in the line of King William Street: on the contrary, everything seemed to demonstrate that this district was closely occupied by dwelling-houses.

Wells of chalk filled with earth, mixed with broken tiles, pottery, and animal remains, were frequently laid open; and in every direction, on both sides of the lately-formed street, an abundance of handles and mouths of amphoræ, fragments of the commoner kinds of earthen vases and urns, together with the Samian pottery, were met with incessantly.

Adjoining St. Clement's Church, at about twelve feet beneath the present level, ran a tessellated pavement, composed of pieces of red brick of about an inch or an inch and quarter long, and three quarters of an inch wide, corresponding with fragments lately discovered in East Cheap at about an equal depth, connected probably with some public building or dwelling-house of the better class, on or near the site of St. Clement's Church.

A precisely similar pavement occurred in Lothbury, which may with like reason be supposed to branch off from a building (by some considered the Prætorium of the Roman Station) that occupied the position of the Bank of England.

Near St. Clement's Church were found many vessels of the common brown and black earth, but mostly in a fractured state. They are such as were in general use among the Romans for domestic purposes, and probably were of colonial manufacture; for it seems unlikely that, when materials might have been had merely for the pains of digging, and no particular trouble or ingenuity was required to mould or fashion them, the unnecessary expense of importation should have been incurred. They are usually met with wherever Roman remains are discovered, and possess great variety of form and quality, though the material seldom equals the design and workmanship of acknowledged specimens from Italy or Greece.

The vicinity of St. Clement's Church produced six small earthen lamps, much Samian ware, both figured and plain, rings of base metal, and coins. One of

the rings had been gilded, and was set with an engraved turquoise, on which was represented what appeared to be an augural priest feeding a cock.

The soil in this neighbourhood is very unfavourable to the preservation of coins. Many have been found, but they are generally half eaten by rust, and the inscriptions seldom to be rendered legible. They chiefly consist of the second-brass of Claudius, Vespasian, and Domitian, with base denarii of Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, and Julia Mamaea.

These denarii are of the very worst description of the various forged and adulterated species of that age, and are composed of brass or a mixture of common metals, with merely a thin coating of silver, and generally bear the commonest reverses. They are found throughout London. A second-brass coin of Julia Mamaea was in the mouth of one of the smaller earthen bottles found adjacent to St. Clement's Church.

As the excavations approached Prince's Street (which bounds the Bank of England on the west) the soil denominated, by those familiar with the London strata, *Roman*, descended to a much greater depth than either at East Cheap, at Newgate Street, or at the London Wall near Finsbury. From the level of the present street I should say that thirty feet would scarcely limit its depth, and the extent may be pronounced equal to the length of the west side of the Bank. Here it assumed also a different appearance, being much more moist, highly impregnated with animal and vegetable matter, and almost of an inky blackness in colour. It is worthy of note, that the same character is applicable to the soil throughout the line of excavation from Prince's Street to the London Wall at Finsbury, though no where did I observe it extend to such a depth as at the former place. Throughout the same line, also, were at intervals noticed a vast and almost continuous number of wooden piles, which in Prince's Street were particularly frequent, and where also they descended much deeper. The nature of the ground, and the quantity of these piles, tend to strengthen the probability of a channel having existed in this direction, draining off the water from the adjoining marshes, and that too (from the numerous Roman remains accompanying these indications) at a very remote period. The course of the ancient Wallbrook is described by Stowe as passing through the City by this route: "From the north to the south, this City was of old time divided, not by a large highway or street, (as from east to west) but by a fair brook of sweet water, which came from out the north fields through the wall, and midst of the city,

into the river of Thames, and which division is, till this day, constantly and without change maintained.

"This water was called Wallbrook, not Gallus-brook, (as some have fabled, from a Roman Captain slain by Asclepiodatus, and thrown therein,) but from running through and from the wall of this City.

"The course whereof, to prosecute it particularly, was and is from the said wall to St. Margaret's Church in Lothbury, from thence beneath the lower part of the Grocers' Hall, about the east part of their kitchen, under St. Mildred's Church," &c.

The Roman remains found by the labourers near the course of the above stream in Prince's Street, and in the vicinity of the Bank of England, are of a more interesting nature, and of a more varied description, than hitherto have been met with.

I may particularize a pair of small brass scales, keys, one of which is a key-ring, spatulæ, fibulæ, styli, needles in brass and bone, coins, and an instrument eight inches in length, resembling the modern steels for sharpening knives; a bronze horse's head and a wreath of the lotus leaf form the handle, to which is affixed a brass ring for the purpose of suspending the instrument from the girdle. The blade, five inches in length and one-third of an inch thick, is of steel. This relic is in fine preservation, which I ascribe to a galvanic action of the several metals repelling the formation of rust.[a]

Knives were also dug up in this street, one of which has a bone handle. Both ivory and bone were used by the Romans for making the handles of their knives, as well as for other purposes; the former, being by far the more valuable, was confined to the wealthier class, while the latter entered into the manufacture of articles in general request.

Juvenal says,[b]

"——adeo nulla uncia nobis
Est eboris." . . .
"—— quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
Ossea."

[a] In Montfaucon will be found an engraving of a similar handle (wanting the ring), which is termed a *knife-handle*; but this perfect and curious specimen of the Roman steels, leaves no doubt of the original character of the incomplete relic from which the engraving referred to, was made.

[b] Sat. xi. l. 131.

I heard a report of a helmet having been discovered in Prince's Street, and also some silver vessels, but making it a rule to be sceptical in all matters of antiquity that depend merely on the word of the workmen, I pass them over with many other alleged discoveries.

Of the Samian ware a great quantity was procured from Prince's Street and from Lothbury.

The general nature of this pottery has been so often described, and the uses to which it was applied are so well understood, that many remarks thereon may be spared.

While the commoner kinds of fictile vessels may have been made by the colonists, the Samian was in all probability imported; though, it is very likely, that after a time it might have been manufactured, as well as other varieties of earthenware, in Britain. The names of some of the potters stamped on cups and dishes of Samian pottery, are of a very barbarous sound, and remind us of those occurring in Cæsar's Commentaries, as the names of Gauls and Britons, for instance Dagodubnus, Bonoxus, Divicatus, and others.

Saguntum, in Spain, is mentioned by Pliny as being famed for its potteries, and might have exported its wares directly to Britain, for which country it would have been a nearer and more convenient depôt. This historian states, if I correctly understand him, that both Samos and Eretum (in Italy) supplied in his time the dishes or plates for meats, but for *drinking-cups* he names several places, and among them Saguntum. Now the potters' names that I have observed on the broad red dishes (such as most nearly correspond with our dinner plates) bear certainly more classical names than are usually found on the majority of smaller vessels, as OF. MODESTI. OF. CELSI.[b] &c.

It will not, perhaps, be erroneous to consider some of the larger and better executed dishes, pateræ, &c. to have been imported from Rome, some from Saguntum, while others may have been made in potteries established at a more recent period in Gaul and Britain.

Martial,[c] in one of his epigrams, mentions a *Batavian* potter named Rufus:

"Sum figuli lusus Rufi persona Batavi;"

perhaps the same whose name we meet with on the red pateræ.[d]

[b] Ex officinâ Modesti. Officinâ Celsi.

[c] Born in Spain. Martial, xiv. 176.

[d] Bagshot, 1783. London, 1835.

In addition to Pliny's testimony of the esteem in which the Samian pottery was held among the Romans, may be adduced the fact of its being frequently found *riveted with lead and brass*, demonstrating that when broken it had been considered too valuable to be thrown away.

It is rendered precious to us of the present day, not merely from its rich colour, compact texture, and variety of form, but as embodying a series of mythological and historical representations alike valuable to the antiquary and the classical scholar.

Deities, their emblematical accompaniments, their priests and sacrificial processions, are frequent subjects on the Samian bowls and vases, the archetypes of which will often be recognised in statues and other works of Grecian or Roman art, so familiar to the connoiseur.

Apollo and Daphne are depicted on a fine fragment in my possession, obtained from Gutter Lane; while on another is a priest (probably of Esculapius) invoking a serpent on an altar. Some, probably drinking-cups, have Bacchantes dancing, and Bacchanalian processions.

The story of the Pygmies and the Cranes often occurs, and cannot be misunderstood:

"Pygmæus parvis currit bellator in armis."[e]

The vine, on one fragment, with pendant clusters of grapes, forms the sole and graceful ornament, and on others the leaf of this tree is blended with that of the ivy, recalling to mind the applicable lines in Virgil:

"Lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis,
Diffusos edera vestit pallente corymbos."[f]

Musicians are often introduced playing on the several kinds of flutes and on the harp; of the latter, the plectrum is often discernible in the hand of the performer:

"—— crispo numerantur pectine chordæ."[g]

Gladiatorial combats constitute a favourite subject on the Samian vases. The dresses and actions of the combatants illustrate and corroborate the copious historical accounts that have descended to us respecting this degraded class. Some present us with masks and grotesque objects, nor are there wanting delineations of an indelicate character.

[e] Juv. Sat. xiii. [f] Virg. Bucol. [g] Juv. Sat. vi. l. 381.

Combats between men and beasts, and field sports, add to the variety of the figured Samian ware.

Some of the dogs represented as hunting the stag, the wild boar, and hare, bear a striking resemblance to the hounds and greyhounds now employed throughout England, and particularly to the cross-breed we occasionally meet with, between the greyhound and the sheep-dog, a species better adapted in close countries for destructive coursing, being stronger, and if not so fleet, yet capable of enduring more work than the purer breed. The Romans were accustomed to import hunting dogs from Gaul and Britain,[h] and our superiority in the breed of certain species to this day will not be disputed.

To the naturalist a field for elucidation is open in the numerous and often very spirited representations of animals, leaves, plants, flowers, and trees, which may be pronounced to be executed faithfully, and with great attention to character.

Running across the centre of the Samian cups, and more rarely on the exterior sides, are found the names of the potters, usually stamped with great regularity, and with the letters and monograms extremely well formed, and in styles peculiar to different æras of the Roman Empire. So fresh indeed, and untouched by time, do these inscriptions come down to us, that we cannot refrain, while beholding them, from regretting that the Romans did not avail themselves of this imperishable composition for transmitting to posterity those valuable records which stone and marble have failed in preserving. The same names are often found at great distances apart, which alone would establish the general demand for this kind of pottery. Thus the name of LVPPA from Prince's Street, corresponds with one from near Shefford in Bedfordshire, found in 1826.

A fragment from East Cheap, in addition to being ornamented with dogs and leaves, has inscribed on the outside CRVCVRO, which may either stand for the maker's name in the nominative case, or abbreviated at the final R, and the O for officinâ. Another, closely resembling the foregoing in execution, found near Lothbury, bears M CREST.O, (Marci Cresti officinâ) in double impress, having been first blundered and then corrected. In one instance the

[h] See Strabo. Nemesian also (in Eclogis, p. 220.),

—— catulos divisa Britannia mittit
Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos.

name, SABINVS FE.[i], runs in a circle; and I possess examples of stamps *incuse*, and have seen one in your possession.

Adjectives, although uncommon, do occasionally appear, as AVGVSTALIS, either as referring to the quality of the ware, or to its appertaining to the Prætorium.[j] I may also allude to the word FORTIS on a terra-cotta lamp in your collection.

On the handles of amphoræ found in these excavations, merely initials often appear as C . IV . R, while on the rims of the broad shallow earthen pans the names are given more or quite at length, for instance, ALBINVS . . MORICAM: FECIT, SOLLVS F. &c.

The excavations having advanced to Lothbury, the first object that struck my attention was the remnant of a tessellated pavement opposite Founder's Court. Nearer the church of St. Margaret, at about ten or twelve feet deep, the workmen met with a vast number of iron instruments, such as chisels, crow-bars, hammers, &c. all in a very corroded state. Descending still deeper beyond the church, and at the east corner of the Bank, the usual vestiges denoting Roman occupancy were found in abundance, and include a leathern sandal, well preserved and thickly studded with nails on the sole, specimens of red and black pottery, numerous middle-brass coins of Domitian, and one of Antoninus Pius, reverse "Britannia." Wooden piles similar to those before-mentioned in Prince's Street, were again encountered, and combined to indicate the existence of embankments of a water-course at a very remote period.

As the works proceeded from Lothbury to London Wall, various objects of interest were from time to time procured, such as brass coins of Agrippa, Antonia, Claudius, and Vespasian, in the second size, and Trajan in large brass (which last have at intervals been found from East Cheap to London Wall), spatulæ of various kinds, styli, needles, a gold ring, an engraved cornelian, pottery, a pair of brass tweezers, with ear-pick connected by a ring, and an instrument five inches long, somewhat resembling a packing-needle, with an eye about an inch from the pointed extremity, while the other end is flat and circular, about the size of a shilling, and bearing on the obverse a strong mixed resemblance to the coins of the Lower Empire and the Saxon period. It carries the

[i] Sabinus fecit.

[j] I observe also in my list Comitialis and Cerealis, both of which may designate the peculiar purposes for which the vessels thus inscribed were used, though the latter is also a proper name.

impression of a helmeted head to the right, looking upwards to what seems a sceptre surmounted by a cross and two minute stars; on the breast is also a cross, and projecting behind the head are two rows of pearls, such as are appended to or constitute the diadems on coins of the later Roman Emperors. It was most probably used in arranging or fastening the hair.

But the most important discovery in the line of excavation from Lothbury to the Wall, was made on the Coleman Street side, near the public house called the Swan's Nest, where was laid open a pit or well containing a store of earthen vessels of various patterns and capacities. This well had been carefully planked over with thick boards, and at first exhibited no signs of containing any thing besides the native gravelly soil, but at a considerable depth other contents were revealed. The vases were placed on their sides longitudinally, and presented the appearance of being regularly packed or embedded in the mud and sand which had settled so closely round them, that a great number were broken or damaged in being extricated. But those preserved entire, or nearly so, are of the same kind as the handles, necks, and pieces of the light-brown-coloured vessels met with in such profusion throughout the Roman level in London. Some are of a darker clay, approaching to a bluish black, with borders of reticulated work running round the upper part; and one of a singularly elegant form is of a pale bluish colour with a broad black border at the bottom. Some are without handles; others have either one or two. Their capacity for liquids may be stated as varying from one quart to two gallons, though some that were broken were of much larger dimensions.

A small Samian patera, with the ivy-leaf border, and a few figured pieces of the same were found near the bottom of this well, and also a small brass coin of Allectus, with the reverse of the galley "Virtus Aug." and moreover, two iron implements resembling a boat-hook and a bucket handle. The latter of these carries such a homely and modern look, that, had I no further evidence of its history, than the mere assurance of the excavators, I should have instantly rejected it, from suspicion of its having been brought to the spot to be palmed off on the unwary; but the fact of these articles being disinterred in the presence of a trustworthy person in my employ, disarms all doubt of their authenticity.

The dimensions of this pit or well were about two feet nine inches, or three

feet square, and it was boarded on each side with narrow planks about two feet long, and one inch and a half to two inches thick, placed upright, but which framework was discontinued towards the bottom of the pit which merged from a square into an oval form.

To describe or enumerate every object that has occurred in this locality, and elsewhere, during the progress of the works for the sewers and streets, would prolong my communication to a more tedious length than, I fear, it has already reached; I will therefore go on with the general narrative.

At Honey Lane, in digging for the foundations of the new City School, the tiles, pavement, vaults, &c. of an Anglo-Norman church first attracted my notice; then were found many coins of Æthelred, a tripod, some bronze utensils, and two sacrificial knives, one of the blades of which has three narrow sprigs of brass inlaid, and is one of the finest specimens of the kind I have ever seen. At the depth of about sixteen or eighteen feet some pottery, glass bottles, and some few coins, two of which were, a badly preserved medallion of Trajanus Decius and a small brass of Allectus.

The acquisitions from Bread Street consisted of richly figured Samian vases, many of the earthen pans, to which the term *mortaria* has been, I think questionably, applied, and specimens of paintings from the walls of Roman dwellings which time or the hand of the spoiler had played sad havoc with.

With regard to the circular vessels, mortaria, they seem to me to be in every respect unsuited to the purposes of trituration, both from the softness of the material and also from the shape; but appear to be well adapted for a variety of culinary uses, and from being usually found on the sites of dwelling-houses may have been intended for general service in the kitchen department. They are met with in various sizes, and sometimes in pale red clay.

The specimens of paintings from the walls of the domestic habitations of the Romans, who were stationed or settled in London, are very interesting, as exhibiting additional proofs of the extent and comfort, not to add luxury, perceptible in the vestiges of the private residences of the colonists.

The observations of Sir William Gell on the paintings at Pompeii, will apply to these now under consideration. They exhibit great freshness of colours when first brought to the air and washed free from dirt, but soon vary and fade, so as in a short time to afford but a faint idea of their original beauty.

The prevalent colours on the specimens I obtained were yellow, white, red, and green; some have a border of white circles, and some alternate borders of white and green on a red ground, while others exhibited traces of flowers or fanciful designs.

At the entrance to Bread Street, twelve feet from the surface, a chalk wall crossed Cheapside diagonally towards Wood Street, and apparently entered that street; but what direction it then took, the partial openings made for sinking shafts to sewer works did not give sufficient scope for determining.

A shaft was sunk between Bread Street and Friday Street, and pottery obtained both from that and from another sunk opposite Gutter Lane. There was discovered a black wide-mouthed earthen pot embedded in the loam eighteen feet deep from the present surface. It is of the cinerary kind, and is deposited in the museum of Mr. W. D. Saull, of Aldersgate Street.

Gutter Lane proved a fertile source for the Samian pottery. Among other pieces from this street, is one bearing a human head in high relief and of very superior workmanship, and which appears to have been separately moulded. and then fastened on; also a well-preserved glass bottle, capable of holding about two ounces, and a brass coin of Carausius, reverse "CONCOR. MILIT."[k] (two hands joined); also many of the broad curved-edged tiles used for covering the roofs of houses.

Not less interesting discoveries were made in a shaft sunk opposite Paternoster Row, where, at about eighteen feet deep, the operations were checked by a stone wall, of intense hardness, running in a direction towards the centre of St. Paul's, and which cost the labourers three or four days to cut through.[l] Close to this wall were found several of the second brass coins of Vespasian and Domitian, and above the fine Samian dish, bearing across its centre the inscription "OF. MODESTI." with several potters' names, iron tools, and instruments, one of which is the head of a hammer nearly a foot long.

In the direction of St. Martin's-le-Grand, a few yards distant from this wall, and at the depth of twenty feet, were a vast quantity of wooden piles covered with planks, and among them was found a human skeleton. An immense

[k] Concordia Militum.

[l] In this wall were cemented two large sea-shells, evidently for ornament. Sir William Gell notices this as a common practice in Pompeii.

number of human and other animal remains were exhumed opposite St. Martin's-le-Grand; but I saw no signs of pottery, coins, or other Roman vestiges.

The excavations were suspended in Newgate Street, near to Ross Street. About 100 yards from the eastern entrance, the foundations of a wall,[m] forty feet in length and eight feet deep, had to be opened; but such was the solidity of the mortar, that much time and labour were expended before their object could be effected. This stone-work appeared to me to run diagonally across the street towards the entrance to Christ's Hospital. About sixteen yards from this entrance I obtained a beautiful gold ring set with a sapphire, a ruby, and two torquoises. I must here correct a newspaper report that the wall or stone-work above named, was situated at the *bottom* of Newgate Street, and that some antiquities besides were obtained from that locality. All operations up to this time have been confined between the *eastern* entrance and Ross Street.

Some of the facts herein related stand very disconnected; but, however isolated their position, they may not be unworthy of record, as at some future period they may serve as materials towards the Roman topography of London, and I trust that the details may be enlivened by the exhibition of the accompanying articles which I have ventured to offer, through your medium, to the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

A. J. Kempe, Esq. F.S.A.

SOME OF THE POTTERS' NAMES FROM RECENT DISCOVERIES IN LONDON.[n]

AVLIVS F. Aulius Fecit.
ASCILLI M. Ascilli Manu.
AGEDILLVS F.
ALBANI M.
AQUIT
OF AQVIT
OF AQVITANI } Aquitanus.
AMMIVS F.
AVGVSTALIS. St. Michael's.
ATTICI M.
ALBINVS.
BOINICCI M.
BORILLI OF.
BONOXVS.

[m] Supposed to be the south wall of the church of St. Nicholas Shambles.

[n] Nearly all the following stamps (with many more) have been obtained by me at the various sites referred to in the foregoing communication, and are now in my possession. Some of the names have been given by Mr. Kempe in his paper, vol. xxiv. p. 202 of the Archaeologia, on the Roman Antiquities found near the site of the church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane.

CARINVS.
CALVINI M.
OF CRESTI.
CRESI M.
CATASEXTVS F.
CARANI F.
CELSVS.
DIVICATVS.
DIVICI M.
DIVIXTVL. Divixtulus.
DECVMINI M. Decumini Manû.
DAGODVBNVS.
FELIX.
OF FELICIS.
GERMANVS.
OFF GER. Officinâ Germani.
GEMINI M.
GRACCHVS.
HILARI.
IABVS FE.
IOENALIS. Iovenalis.
LATINVS.
LVTAEVS. Incuse, from Gutter Lane.
LVPPA.
OF LICINI.
LICINILVS.
LIBERIVS.
LVCANVS.
LOLLIVS F.
OF LVCCEI.
MATVCENVS.
MARTIVS.
MARTIALIS.
MARCELLI M.
MAGNVS.
MAINACN. Perhaps Manû Janacini.
MEDETI M.
MOM. Momi.
OF. MO. The same.
OF MURRANI.
MERCATOR.
OF MODESTI.
OF NIGRI.
OF NERI.
PATERCLOS FE. Paterculus Fecit.
PAVLLVS.
OF PAVLLI.
PASSEN. M.
OF PATRICI.
PRIMANI.
PRIMVLI.
OF PRIMVL.
OF PRM.
POTITIANI M.
QVARTVS F.
RVFI.
RVFINI M.
SABINVS F.
SACREMV. Sacremus.
SACROTI M S. Sacroti manû sua.
OF SEVERI.*
SECVNDVS.
OF SECVN.
SECVNDINI.
SEXTUS FE.
SEXTI O.
SENICI O. Senici Officinâ.
SILVIRI M.
SILDATIANI M.
SVLPICI.
SOLLUS FECIT.
L. C. SOL.
TERTIVS.
VIDVCVS.
VIRTHVS FECIT.
VICTORINVS.
VITALIS. M. S.

* The F is placed within the O in some.

XIII. *Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck, with Remarks on his history; communicated in a Letter to the Right Honorable the* EARL OF ABERDEEN, *Pres. S.A., from Sir* FREDERIC MADDEN, *K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read 6th, 13th, 20th April, 1837.

MY LORD, British Museum, 21st March, 1837.

PERHAPS there is no individual, in the whole course of English History, whose character and pretensions have been enveloped in greater mystery, or occasioned more discussion, than those of the person who in the reign of King Henry the Seventh assumed the title of Richard Duke of York, and who is better known under the name of Perkin Warbeck. On both sides of the question—his being really heir to the Crown, or an artful impostor—have appeared many able writers, and the controversy may yet scarcely be deemed decided. On the former side are the respectable names of Buck, Carte, Walpole, Henry (?), Laing, and Bayley; whilst on the other we have the united voices of all the early historians, and in more recent times, the authorities of Hume, Lingard, Sharon Turner, and Nicolas. It would be very easy, as Dr. Henry justly remarks, for us to adopt either of the two opinions, and support it by plausible arguments, but not so easy to establish its truth in such a manner as to leave no doubt on the subject. The advocates for Perkin's claims have derived a great advantage from the absence hitherto of those contemporary documents which might substantiate or refute the statements of the Tudor chroniclers, and have continually questioned the authenticity of the narrative, on the ground of its being the invention of the writer, or adopted from motives of political expediency. Any papers therefore which may assist us in forming a clearer judgment of this "mysterious personage," or throw even a

feeble ray on the obscurity with which the transactions of that period are clouded, appear to me to behighly deserving of attention; and with this view it is that I take the liberty of laying before the Society copies of some original documents, part of which have recently been brought to light, and the remainder (probably from the difficulty of decyphering them, or from other causes) hitherto unnoticed by all our historians.

But before I proceed to the documents themselves, it may not be unadviseable to notice briefly the amount of the historical evidence on the subject, as it has been handed down to us by the writers of the period; and in doing this it will be necessary to use a little critical discrimination, to avoid falling into the common error of attributing to one what in reality is only borrowed from another.[a] The contemporary authorities may be reduced to three, Fabyan, Bernard André, and Polydore Vergil. The former of these, in his character of city-chronicler, contents himself with giving us a few scanty notices of Perkin's attempt, without a word in explanation. Of the second (a native of Thoulose, who held the situation of poet-laureate at the court, and had been charged with the education of Prince Arthur,) we possess a Life of Henry the Seventh, still existing in MS.[b] dedicated to the King himself. The author in his preface tells us it was undertaken in the year 1500, at which period he had retired from his official charge (probably on the annuity allowed him by the King[c]), and, although afflicted with blindness, had compiled his account of

[a] This has been done particularly in regard to Perkin's supposed Oration to James the Fourth of Scotland, which Dr. Henry ascribes to Lord Bacon. Walpole and Laing go a step further, and assign it to Grafton. But the fact is, that Grafton copies it literatim from Hall, who translates it from Polydore, therefore it is to the latter alone we are to look for the share of invention displayed in its composition. It is much to be regretted that in the reprints of our Chroniclers, some critical hand had not pointed out how far the later are indebted to the earlier authorities; for who would quote from Holinshed or Grafton, when the same passage *totidem verbis* is in Hall?

[b] MS. Cott. Dom. A. XVIII.

[c] In Rymer, vol. xii. p. 317, is the order for an annuity of ten marks to him, dated 2nd Nov. 1486. As late as 1510 is the following entry relative to him in a Household Book of Henry VIII. in the Chapter House: "Jan. 1. Hen. VIII. It'm. to Mast' Bernard the blynde poyete, 100*s*." See Tanner, Warton's *Hist. E. P.* vol. ii. p. 232, and *Excerpta Historica*, p. 109. The Cotton MS. Dom. A. XVIII. contains the largest portion of his Annals, from the birth of Henry VII. to the year 1498. Subsequently he appears to have annually presented to the King an outline of the trans-

Henry's reign without any other assistance than that of an amanuensis. The work is composed in a rhetorical and subservient style, suitable to the character and situation of the author, but is in many respects curious; and as it has been but imperfectly consulted by our historical writers, I shall annex to this paper[d] a copy of that portion which relates to Perkin, which will preclude the necessity of saying more respecting it here. The third authority, Polydore Vergil, commenced his history, as is well known, in 1505, and completed it in 1517, under the immediate auspices of Henry the Eighth, and it is to him we must look as the source whence the stream of succeeding historians chiefly borrowed their materials. Hall follows him minutely, but with some additions of value, particularly the insertion of the Confession Perkin is stated to have read before his death. Grafton merely reprints Hall; and the later writers may be dismissed without notice until we come to honest John Speed, who increased the value of his narrative materially by making use of André's MS. work. As to Lord Bacon's history of Henry the Seventh,[e] it is little more in truth than a repetition of what he found in preceding writers, eked out and embellished in a style accordant with the prevailing taste of his time.

Having premised thus much in regard to the authors who are so often cited

actions of his reign. Two only of these portions are preserved, namely for the 20th year [Aug. 1504—Aug. 1505], and 23rd year [Aug. 1507—Aug. 1508], MS. Cott. Jul. D. III. and IV. Speed, who first consulted this work, says of it, "in such points as he hath professed to know [it is] not unworthy to be vouched, for there is in him a greate deale of cleare elocution and defæcated conceit, above the ordinary of that age." *Hist. of Brit.* ed. 1611; fol. 728.

[d] Append. No. 1. of the Documents attached.

[e] Among the Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. No.7084, is a fair copy of Lord Bacon's History, which had been submitted to the perusal of King James; and f. 2, the following passage occurs after the words "for the reversall of their atteyndors," which is omitted in the printed editions: "But the Judges left it there, and made no mention whither after such reversall there should need any new election or no, nor whither this sequestering of them from the House were generally upon their disabilitie, or upon an incompetency that they should be Judges and Partyes in their own cause. *The point in lawe was whither any disabilitie in their naturall capacitie, could trench to their politicke capacitie, they being but Procurators of the Commonwealth, and Representatives and Fiduciaries of Countyes and Burrowghes, consideringe their Principals stood upright and cleere, and therefore were not to receive prejudice from their personall atteyndors.*" The whole of this is crossed out with a pen, and in the margin, opposite to the words in Italics, Lord Bacon has written in his own hand, "This to be altered, as his Ma^te told Mr. Mewtus."

indiscriminately in modern works, as the pillars of English history since the accession of the house of Tudor, I now propose to consider in chronological order the various documents which my researches have enabled me to collect respecting this " mercuriall," as Lord Bacon terms him, which he afterwards explains by saying that Perkin " was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or emprison."

The first which I shall produce is an original letter from Perkin Warbeck, addressed to Isabel Queen of Spain, daughter of John II. King of Castile and Arragon, by his second wife, Isabel, daughter of John Prince of Portugal, and consort of Ferdinand the Catholic. She was therefore grand-daughter of Philippa, sister of Henry IV. of England, the Queen of John I. of Portugal, and it was doubtless on this account we find the plea of relationship put forward, which served as an excuse for the letter itself, and enabled Perkin, by a well-aimed stroke of policy, to attempt to interest in his behalf the consort of a monarch, who, by his recent victories over the Moors, had rendered himself sufficiently powerful to make his protection an object of the greatest importance.

The letter is written by a secretary, in very indifferent Latin, and is signed " Richard," with the epithet of " Plantagenet, second son of the late King Edward." The seal formerly attached to the silk or band which enveloped the letter, is now wanting, which is to be regretted, since it would have been interesting to know what arms were assumed by Perkin at this stage of his career.

The tenor of this letter is as follows:

" Most serene and most excellent Princess, my most honored Lady and Cousin, I commend me entirely to your Majesty. Whereas the Prince of Wales, eldest son of Edward formerly King of England, of pious memory, my dearest lord and father, was miserably put to death, and I myself, then nearly nine years of age, was also delivered to a certain lord to be killed, it pleased the Divine Clemency, that that lord, having compassion on my innocence, preserved me alive and in safety; first, however, causing me to swear on the holy sacrament, that to no one should I disclose my name, origin, or family, until a certain number of years had passed. He sent me therefore abroad, with two persons, who should watch over and take charge of me; and thus I, an orphan,

bereaved of my royal father and brother, an exile from my kingdom, and deprived of country, inheritance and fortune, a fugitive in the midst of extreme perils, led my miserable life, in fear, and weeping, and grief, and for the space of nearly eight years lay hid in divers provinces. At length, one of those who had charge of me being dead, and the other returned to his country, and never afterwards seen, scarcely had I emerged from childhood, alone and without means, I remained for a time in the kingdom of Portugal, and thence sailed to Ireland, where being recognised by the illustrious lords, the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, my cousins, as also by other noblemen of the island, I was received with great joy and honor. Thence being invited by the King of France, with many ships and attendants, and having been promised aid and assistance against Henry of Richmond, the wicked usurper of the kingdom of England, I came to the aforesaid King of France, who received me honorably, as a kinsman and friend. But on his failing to afford me the promised assistance, I betook myself to the illustrious Princess, the Lady Duchess of Burgundy, sister of my father, my dearest aunt, who, with her known humanity and virtue, welcomed me with all piety and honor; out of regard also to her, the most Serene King of the Romans, and his son, the Archduke of Austria, and the Duke of Saxony, my dearest cousins, as likewise the Kings of Denmark and Scotland, who sent to me their envoys, for the purpose of friendship and alliance. The great nobles of the kingdom of England did the same, who execrate the proud and wicked tyranny of this Henry of Richmond. But (most Serene Princess, Lady and Cousin,) since, on account of our relationship, and your renowned virtues, by which you surpass all other princes of the world, in justice, actions, and prosperity, you ought no less than other princes to compassionate our condition, and succour us with pious love, I pray and implore your Majesty will use your influence with your Serene Spouse, that, together with your Clemency, he may be induced to pity the numerous calamities of our family, and in my right, which is also yours, to further me and mine with his favor, aid, and assistance. For I promise, if the Divine Grace should restore to me my hereditary kingdom, that I will continue with both your Majesties in closer alliance and friendship than ever King Edward was, and that I and my kingdom will be ever ready to fulfil your pleasure, no less than your own

realms. Farewell to your noble Majesty! Written from the town of Dendermonde, the 8th calends of September [25th August], 1493.

" Of your Excellent Majesty
the Cousin, Richard Plantagenet, second son of Edward formerly King, Duke of York, &c.

" RICHARD."

Addressed,

" To the most Serene and Excellent Princess, the Lady Isabel, Queen of Castile, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, &c. my most honored Lady and Cousin." [f]

We have here for the first time, under the hand of Perkin himself, his own narrative of his history, and it is not a little curious to compare it with the Confession, and the accounts given by André and Polydore Vergil. There are many points in it which require comment; but to understand it more completely, I may be permitted to recall to your Lordship's memory the previous career of this extraordinary adventurer, and his position at the period when this letter was written.

It was in the autumn of the year 1491 that Perkin Warbeck first landed at Cork in Ireland,[g] at which period Henry the Seventh, in concert with his allies Maximilian and Ferdinand, had just declared war against France. The expedition was got ready in the course of the following summer, and Henry, having joined his army at Calais on the 2nd October 1492,[h] proceeded to besiege Boulogne. But previous to the commencement of hostilities (probably about May, 1492), Henry's adversary, Charles the Eighth, had dexterously availed himself of Perkin's appearance, and with the view of embarrassing Henry's projects against himself, and not from any conviction of the justice of

[f] The original text of this letter, with a fac-simile of the signature, will be annexed to this communication, Append. No. 2.

[g] The Earls of Desmond and Kildare were at this time induced to offer Perkin their aid, as asserted in his letter, and confirmed by historical evidence. According to Lord Bacon, Perkin's letters to these Earls were extant in his time. See his Hist. Hen. VII. p. 118. Sir James Ware repeats the fact from Bacon, in his Annales, p. 38, ed. 1658. In Rymer, xii. p. 567, is a pardon granted to the Earl of Desmond for his treason, dated 12 Dec. 1494, and he is also included in the general pardon to the Irish rebels, 26 Aug. 1496. *ibid.* p. 634.

[h] Household Book, MS. Add. 7099.

Perkin's claims, had invited him over to the French court, where he was most honorably entertained, in the state appertaining to his supposed rank. The war was therefore but of short duration, for Henry had never entered into it very heartily (as appears by the overtures for peace on the 12th June previous), and finding himself unsupported by his allies, and tempted by the sum of money offered to be paid to him on the part of Charles, concluded a peace at Estaples on the 3rd November, and returned to Calais on the 7th, where, if we may credit Polydore Vergil, he was first informed of Perkin's pretensions; "which sodeyne newes," says Hall, "more stacke and fretted in hys stomacke, then the battaile which now was set late forwarde, & more paine he had (not without ieopardie of him self) to appeare & quenche this newe spronge conspiracy, then makynge peace with the Frenche kyng his enemy."[i] There can be little doubt however, that the knowledge of the fact must have preceded the ratification of the peace, and have presented to Henry's mind no inconsiderable argument for its acceptance. For as by the terms of the peace, separately confirmed by Charles on the 13th December, the French King was bound to afford no aid to rebels or enemies of Henry, the result at once was the dismissal of Perkin from France, and his retirement to the territories of Margaret of Burgundy, by whom he was received most favorably, and by her influence placed under the protection of the Archduke Philip, and Maximilian King of the Romans. On the news being spread in England, and on the open defection of Sir Robert Clifford and others to the cause of Perkin, it became necessary that Henry should adopt active measures to avoid the storm which now seemed to threaten him, and for that purpose he dispatched emissaries and spies to the Low Countries, by whose letters he was informed of Perkin's birth-place and low origin.[j] On this Henry sent an embassy, consisting of Sir Edward Poynings and Dr. William Warham, to the Archduke and Maximilian, the commission for which was signed 13th July, 1493.[k] I have searched

[i] Hall, fol. xxviii. ed. 1550. Cf. Pol. Verg. p. 586, ed. 1555.

[j] "Illi [exploratores] in Galliam profecti, dum alii alia loca peragrant, quidam Tornacum perveniunt, ibique intelligunt Ricardum humili loco natum, nomenque à primo habere *Petrum*, cognomento *Varbechum*, idque multorum testimonio constare." *Pol. Verg.* p. 591. Comp. Hall's translation here and elsewhere, when Polydore is quoted.

[k] Rymer, xii. 544.

in vain for a copy of the private instructions given to them; but the substance is unquestionably preserved by Polydore, and in them they were directed to remonstrate with the Archduke against his giving further credit or aid to Perkin, on two grounds, first, in regard to his low birth, and secondly, because the two princes, sons of Edward IV. were murdered in the Tower by command of their uncle, "sicut nemo homo nesciebat, et secus credere vel affirmare summæ esse dementiæ." In conclusion the ambassadors were openly to charge Margaret of Burgundy with the formation of the plot.[1] In reply to this, the councillors of Philip, after some debate, made a promise that the Archduke should no longer give assistance to Perkin; but in respect to the Lady Margaret, they would not interfere with her, as she held her lands in dower in her own right.

This was the state of things at the time when Perkin Warbeck addressed his letter in August 1493 to the Queen of Spain, and he was then evidently still under the protection of the Archduke, since he dates it from Dendermonde, a considerable town of Austrian Flanders, situated at the confluence of the river Deuder with the Scheld, nearly about mid-distance between Ghent, Antwerp, and Brussels. This is confirmed by a passage, hitherto overlooked, in a letter addressed by the Prince de Ligne in 1513, to Henry the Eighth, in which he complains of the conduct of Messire Hue de Mellum, and adds, that this was the person who conducted the whole of Perkin's affairs, when in Flanders.[m] Now the person in question, Hugues de Meleun, Vicomte de Gand, a knight

[1] So also in the King's letter to Sir Gilbert Talbot, written from Kenelworth, 20 July [1493 ?] he expressly charges Margaret with the contrivance of the plan. Ellis's *Orig. Lett.* i. 20, 1st ser. The Tudor historians all join in the same accusation, and Hall quaintly writes, the Duchess thought "to have gotten God by the foote, when she had the deuell by the tayle," f. xxx. But the alteration in the King's affairs with regard to Flanders at a subsequent period, will account very satisfactorily why Margaret's name was omitted in Perkin's Confession.

[m] "Je suis esté informé à la verité, que ung seigneur portant l'Ordre de pardeça, se advanchoit de secretement advertir les villes tenans parties Françoises, que je me vouloie donner en vostre service, et qu'ilz se donnissent garde, et feissent bon guet. Et d'avantaige, pour plus demoustrer son couraige, il escript certaines lettres en François, lesquelles j'ay fait prendre, dont je vous envoye les coppies. Sire, le personnaige se nome Messe *Hue de Mellum*, et *est celui qui conduisy toute l'affaire de Pierekin, qui se cuida faire Roy de vostre Royalme d'Angleterre.* J'espere avec l'aide et adveu de vostre noble personne, de lui moustrer qu'il n'est pas vostre serviteur." Dated from Brussels, 1513. MS. Cott. Galb. B. vi. fol. 120.

of the Golden Fleece, and high in the confidence of Maximilian and the Archduke, was actually Governor of Dendermonde at this period, and the previous year had defeated the Gantois, who had sent troops to surprise the town.[n]

What reception Perkin's letter met with, we have no means of precisely ascertaining; but, as in the month of March previous, a treaty of peace and alliance had been entered into between England and Spain, and in April an ambassador had been sent from Ferdinand to Henry, it is not probable the former would run any risk in espousing the cause of a person whose statements were so questionable, against a prince whose friendship was then of moment. Indeed, the manner in which the letter has been docketed by the Spanish secretary, as coming from "*Richard, who calls himself King of England*," would lead us to infer that his pretensions were but coldly listened to at the court of Madrid.

On an attentive consideration of this document, it must strike every one who is impartial, that the account given in it of the supposed Duke of York's escape, and his subsequent adventures until he landed in Ireland, is extremely unsatisfactory,[o] and the whole much more liable to suspicion than the *Confession*, which the defenders of Richard have so vehemently impugned. The remark of Turner must here be allowed to have its full weight, namely, that Perkin, by openly declaring the murder of Edward the Fifth, completely silences the arguments of those who acquit Richard of the crime, and at the same time convicts himself of imposture. But there is another circumstance which at the outset arrests our attention. In this letter the Duke of York is declared to have scarcely attained his ninth year, when he escaped from the tower. Now, if we reckon from the 17th August, 1472, the day of the Duke's birth, according to the testimony of a Herald who lived at the time,[p] to the month of June, 1483, the supposed period of the murder and escape, we shall find that

[n] Maurice, *Hist. de la Toison d'Or*, p. 121, fol. 1667.

[o] Of the same character is the Proclamation issued by Perkin on the expedition of James V. into England, in 1496, printed in the Appendix to Henry's History of England, No. I. and so unwarrantably altered by Lord Bacon.

[p] See a communication sent by me to the *Gents. Mag.* January 1831, p. 25. Sir Harris Nicolas with his usual acuteness had already fixed the Duke's birth in the year 1472. See his preface to the Wardrobe Accounts of Edw. IV. p. xvi. 8o. 1830.

the youngest of the princes would have been not *nearly nine*, but *eleven* years old, wanting a month. Supposing therefore Perkin to have been the real Duke of York, how could he have made so great an error, or have betrayed such an ignorance of his real age? However the supporters of Walpole's opinion may attempt to explain this away, I confess it seems to me a plain proof of the imposition. In the notice of his sojourn in Portugal, Perkin confirms beyond question the similar narrative in the Confession, (hitherto much questioned) and the remainder is agreeeble to the accounts of historians, with this addition, that he had received promises of aid from the Duke of Saxony, and the kings of Denmark and Scotland, which, if true, would only prove how treacherously both the latter acted at this period towards King Henry. But before I quit this letter (which must certainly be regarded as a great curiosity) I must notice an extraordinary error of Lord Bacon, which has been the cause of much misunderstanding, and false reasoning. In speaking of Perkin's origin he writes: "He had been from his childhood such a wanderor, or (as the King called him) such a *land-loper*, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his *nest* and *parents*. Neither againe could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly there was a *circumstance* (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time) that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter, which is, that King Edward the Fourth was his *god-father;* which, as it is somewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip in so meane a house, and might make a man thinke that he might indeed have in him some base bloud of the House of Yorke, so at the least (though that were not) it might give the occasion to the boy in being called King Edward's *god-sonne*, or perhaps in sport King Edward's *sonne*, to entertaine such thoughts into his head." He then proceeds to tell us, that "There was a townesman of Tourney, that had borne office in that towne, whose name was John Osbeck, a *Convert Jew* married to Catherine De Faro, whose businesse drew him to live for a time with his wife at London, in King Edward the Fourth's daies. During which time he had a sonne by her, and being known in court, the King, either out of a religious noblenesse, because he was a *Convert*, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honor as to be *Godfather* to his child, and named him

Peter."[q] Walpole and Laing have both noticed the inconsistency of this statement with the Confession printed in Hall, in respect to Perkin's *Jewish* descent, and Walpole openly charges Lord Bacon with forging it, and justly ridicules the idea, that a king called *Edward* should have given the name of *Peter* to his grandson.[r] The explanation however of all this confusion will be found by producing Bacon's original authority, namely, the MS. history of André, which he had read, as quoted by Speed.[s] This writer is the only one who states, that Perkin when a boy was *servant in England to a Jew named Edward, who was baptised and adopted as godson by Edward the Fourth, and was on terms of intimacy with the king and his family.* This curious piece of information[t] Lord Bacon has from carelessness most unaccountably misunderstood, and then by trying to connect it with the narrative given in the Confession, has committed the double fault, first of transferring to Perkin the baptism of the Jew Edward, and next of asserting that the John Osbeck, named as Perkin's father in the Confession, was the Jew in question!!! As to the surmise which follows, respecting King Edward's intrigue with Perkin's mother, it is the mere imagination of Bacon, founded upon his erroneous view of facts, and this, which he after all only throws out as a suggestion of his own, has been most unfairly represented by Hume (who copies Bacon literally) as the opinion of persons living at the period! This is a fair specimen of the manner in which our writers of history formerly imposed their own inaccurate notions on

[q] Hist. Hen. VII. p. 114.

[r] Hist. Doubts, p. 90.

[s] Speed's words are, "This youth was borne (they say) in the city of Torney, and called Peter Warbecke, the son of a converted Jew, whose godfather at baptisme King Edward himselfe was." *Hist. of Brit.* 1611, p. 737. He gives *Bern. Andr.* in the margin, as his authority for this. It must be observed that Speed is also in error, in making Perkin *son*, instead of *servant*, of the Jew.

[t] If the Privy Purse expenses of Edward IV. should hereafter be discovered, they might perhaps afford some entry respecting this baptism of the Jew, to confirm André's statement. This is only one proof among a thousand of the invaluable information contained in this class of documents, by means of which we are enabled to test the accuracy of nearly every contemporary writing. There exists a precedent for the story, in the reign of Edward the Third, who stood god-father to a converted pagan, in the year 1361. The incident is thus alluded to in a contempory chronicle: "Eodem anno, 6 die Nov. venit rex Ciprie Londoniis, conducens secum unum regem paganum De Lecto dictum, prisonarium, et unum alium magnatem non prisonarium, sed magnatem paganum, vocatum Dominum de Jerusalem, qui conversus est ad fidem Christianam; quem rex Anglie de sacro fonte levavit, et ipsum *Edwardum* nominavit." MS. Cott. Galb. E. VII. f. 188 b.

the public as the result of laborious investigation. Lingard and Sharon Turner (which is somewhat surprising, since they both quote André, but probably only through the medium of Speed) take no notice of the passage, and merely cite the narrative of the Confession, which, although it omits all mention of the circumstances related by André, by no means can be considered irreconcileable with them. [u]

The next documents which I shall produce on the subject of Perkin Warbeck, are the original private papers of instructions given by Henry the Seventh to Richmond, otherwise Clarenceux King of Arms, [x] employed as his confidential envoy to the courts of France and Rome. The first of these I have discovered is dated at Shene, 10 Aug. 1494, [y] and authenticated by the King's signature. In it he is directed to inform the King of France that Henry had received from the hands of his esquire, Thomyn le Fevre, the credentials intended to have been brought by Messire Georges le Grec, but who had been seized with a fit of the gout on the road, so as not to be able to proceed. That the said esquire had informed the King of the arrival at Paris of the French ambassadors, the Archbishop of Rheims [z] and M. de la Trymouille, [a] who had been despatched on a mission to the king of the Romans, and the intelligence they had brought of the intention of Maximilian to assist with all his power the person who called himself Plantagenet, and pretended to be son of the late

[u] The fact of this Confession having been printed, as we learn from André, is a sufficient answer to those who contend against its genuineness because it is omitted by Fabyan and Polydore. Lord Bacon's reasoning on it is worth but very little.

[x] This individual was Roger Machado, a foreigner, who was in Henry's service before he ascended the throne. He died in 1516. See Noble's *Hist. Coll. Arms*, pp. 87, 111. In Rymer, vol. xii. is a licence to him and to John Meautis, the King's French secretary, to import 100 casks of Gascon wine free of expense, dated 17 Nov. 1494.

[y] MS. Cott. Cal. D. vi. fol. 18. This volume is one of those that suffered in the fire of 1731, and several lines at the bottom of each page are burnt. The date of the month is also destroyed, but fortunately it had been written in pencil at the commencement by some antiquary, previous to the accident. The original text will be annexed to this paper, No. 3.

[z] Robert Briçonnet, Archbishop and Duke of Rheims, premier peer of France, and afterwards made Chancellor, at Turin, 30 Aug. 1495. He was brother of the Cardinal of St Malo. See *Hist. de Charles VIII. rec. par Godefroy*, fol. Par. 1684. p. 721.

[a] Louis de la Trimouille, called "la Chevalier sans reproche," principal Chamberlain to Charles VIII. and Knight of his Order. He died in 1498. See *ibid.* p. 207.

king Edward, and for that purpose had gone into Flanders, with a great force. That the king of France, notwithstanding the armament he had raised by land and sea to undertake the conquest of Naples,[b] was ready to lend his aid to the king to defend his realm of England, and for that purpose offered him the ships of Bretagne and Normandy, provided they were reasonably remunerated for their services; and that further the king of France had refused to allow his subjects to take part with Perkin, which he was willing to grant to the King, should he require it. For all which information and good offices the said Richmond is to return the King's cordial thanks, and acceptance of the offers, but to state that Henry held the affair of the *garçon* of so little moment, that it was not his intention to trouble the king of France on the occasion. The instructions then proceed:

"And in regard to the said *garçon*, the King makes no account of him, nor of all his , because he cannot be hurt or annoyed by him; for there is no nobleman, gentleman, or person of any condition in the realm of England, who does not well know that it is a manifest and evident imposture, similar to the other which the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy made, when she sent Martin Swart over to England.[c] And it is notorious, that the said *garçon* is of no consanguinity or kin to the late king Edward, but is a native of the town of Tournay, and son of a boatman *(batellier)*, who is named *Werbec*, as the King is certainly assured, as well by those who are acquainted with his life and habits, as by some others his companions, who are at present with the King; and others still are beyond the sea, who have been brought up with him in their youth, who have publicly declared at length how . . . [*a few words are wanting*] the king of the Romans. And therefore the subjects of the King necessarily hold him in great derision, and not without reason. And

[b] See a minute account of this expedition by André de la Vigne, and other historians, in the same work; by de Comines, tom. i. p. 440, and by Guillaume de Vileneuve, in the *Preuves des Memoires de Phil. de Comines*, tom. iv. p. 82. 4to. 1747.

[c] Martin Swart was sent over with 2000 Germans in 1487, to assist Lambert Simnel and the Earl of Lincoln, and was slain at the battle of Stoke, near Newark. He was, says Hall (translating from Polydore) "a noble man in Germany, and in marciall feactes verye expert," fol. ix. There was a ballad made on him, probably not long after, which is alluded to by Skelton, and in the comedy called "The longer thou livest the more fool thou art," of which the burden seems to have been:

"Martin Swart and his men, sodledum, sodledum,
Martin Swart and his men, sodledum bell."

if it should so be, that the king of the Romans should have the intention to give him assistance to invade England, (which the King can scarcely believe, seeing that it is derogatory to the honor of any prince to encourage such an impostor) he will neither gain honor or profit by such an undertaking. And the King is very sure that the said king of the Romans, and the nobility about him, are well aware of the imposition, and that he only does it on account of the displeasure he feels at the treaty made by the King with his said brother and cousin, the king of France."

Richmond is then instructed to offer the mediation of Henry in the affair of Naples, on account of his near connexion in blood with the French king, and also because the king of Naples (Alphonso II.) was on terms of friendship with him, and had received his Order of the Garter.[d]

In respect to the state of affairs at home, he was to inform Charles, that England was in as good, prosperous, and peaceable condition, as it had ever been within the memory of man. But in regard to Ireland, the King had resolved to set that country in order, particularly that part which was peopled by the "Wild Irish," that they might be ruled by the same laws as those within the English pale.[e] That for this purpose, he should send a sufficient army, and great officers in legal and military capacities, which he expected without fail would pass over in the ensuing September, at latest.[f] Lastly Richmond is directed to return the King's thanks for the declaration of the king of France, that in case any invasion of England should be attempted by the king of Scots, he would give neither countenance, favor, nor assistance to him.

[d] Alphonso had received the Garter when Duke of Calabria, and was installed 18 May, 9 Hen. VII. He succeeded to the throne of Naples on the death of his father Ferdinand, 25 Jan. 1493-4. Ashmole's *Reg. Ord. Gart.* ii. 236. According to Polydore Vergil, it was with the hope and expectation of being assisted by Henry against Charles VIII. that he desired so much to be a knight of the Order. Hist. p. 587, Hall, f. xxviii.

[e] See the description given by Polydore of the two sorts of Irish, p. 594. Hall in translating the passage, says of the latter. "The other kynde is cleane coutrary from this, for they be wylde, rustical, folish, fierce, and for their vnmanerly behauior and rude passions, are called wilde and sauage Irishmen. And to these wilde coaltes Perkyn shewed hym selfe first, easely perswading them to believe that he was the same very person whom he falsely fayned and countrefeated." fo. xxxvi.

[f] Sir Edward Poynings, K. G. was appointed deputy of Ireland, 13 Sept. 1494, and was sent shortly after with an army "to serche and purge all such townes and places where Perkin was receyued, relieued, or fauoured," as Hall, copying Polydore, tells us. His proceedings in Ireland may be learnt from the historians.

There is moreover a separate article added to these instructions, in which Richmond is charged to shew privately to the king of France, that the aid afforded by Maximilian to Perkin is prompted entirely by his dislike of the friendship and amity between England and France, and that he would do every thing in his power to set another king on the throne of England, to accomplish his desires. That if Henry, pleased, he might no doubt make terms with Maximilian, but was determined not to do it, and trusted that while he and his brother of France were in alliance, they would be quite strong enough to defeat any attempts of their adversary.

At the commencement of the year 1494-5 Richmond was again sent to France, and the instructions to him are dated at Greenwich, 30 Dec. 1494. [g] He was charged to thank the French king for the good will shewn towards Henry, by letters received from his Governor in Picardy, signifying his having received orders to do all things according to the King's pleasure. That on Richmond's return to England Charles had promised to send an envoy to Henry, to discuss the affairs of both kingdoms; but, as he had not arrived, the King had thought proper to dispatch Richmond back again to learn the state of the French king's affairs, and to communicate his own. In regard to which, the King was in good health, and loved and obeyed in his kingdom as well as any of his predecessors had been. That in Ireland every thing went on well, and that the prelates and persons of condition, as well within the pale as without, had tendered their submission to the King's Lieutenant, and that it only required certain judicial measures to settle the island, which the king hoped would shortly be put in force. The instructions then go on:

"Item, in case that the said brother and cousin of the King, or others about him, should speak at all touching the king of the Romans, and the *garçon* who is in Flanders, the said Richmond may reply as he did on his former journey. And he shall say, that the King fears them not, because they are incapable of hurting or doing him injury. And it appears each day more and more to every person who the said *garçon* is, and from what place he came." [h]

[g] MS. Cott. Cal. D. vi. fol. 20. He was afterwards to proceed to Rome, as is apparent from the entry in the King's Household Book, where is an item of £22. 10. 0. for the costs of Richmond Herald to Rome, for three months, dated 1st Jan. 1494-5. MS. Add. 7099.

[h] The words of the original are: "Lesquelles sont telles. Que, graces à Dieu, le Roy n're d'

The said Richmond is also instructed to acquaint himself with the state of affairs in the Pope's territories, in France, in the seignories of Venice, Florence, and other Italian principalities, and to send intelligence thereof to the King. And in case the king of France should inquire concerning the peace between England and Scotland, he is to reply, that, at his departure, the King had received certain information, that a solemn embassy was about to be despatched from Scotland, to conclude the peace.[i] He is also to represent to Charles certain grievances complained of by the English merchants.

On reading these Papers, the first thing that strikes us is the apparent indifference and contempt expressed by the King for Perkin and his adherents; but that this was only a political *ruse*, to impose on Charles, is evident not only from the known character of the King, but from his subsequent attempts to get Perkin into his hands. The assertion also so roundly made, that no person of any condition in England believed in Perkin's claims, must have been to deceive, for the contrary is asserted by Henry's own historians, and the King could not at this period have been unacquainted with the defection of Clifford, Barley, and others, although it was not till the following January 1494-5 that

souuerain s^{r} est en bonne santé & prosperi[*té*] de sa personne, aussi bien aymé et obey en son Royaulme, que fue jamais Roy en Angleterre, et que les affaires de son pais d'Irlande vou.... avant, tout ainsi qu'il les sauroit ou vouldroit demander. Et pour te certain, les notables prelatz, gens d'eglise, grans seigneurs, gens d'onn[*eur*] et de façon, et tous autres dud' pais d'Irlande, aussi bien ceulx de la sauluaige, que celle de la langue Angloisse, se sont tous venuz rend lieutenant general du Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r} estant de p'nt oud' pa[*is*] d'Irlande, en faisant les foy et hommaige au Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r}. Reste tant seullement, fors de mettre icelluy pais en bonne justice, or[*dre*], et police. Ce que le Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r} espoire sera fait de brief [*sans*] aucune difficulté, à son tres grant honne^{r} et prouffit.

"Item on cas que led' bon frere & cousin du Roy n're d' souuerain s^{r} estans alentour de luy, entient aucunement en parolles tou[*chant le roy des*] Romains, et du garson qui est en Flandres, Led' Richmont [*pourra*] respondre, co'me il fist à l'autre voyage, et que ses tent, Lesquelles il pourra porter avecques Et dira que d'eulx le Roy n're d' nulle, parce qu'ilz ne luy sauroient en façon quelconque nuyre, ou porter p'iud[*ice*]. Et appert l'ung jour plus que autre à vng ch'un du lieu dout est yssu led' garson, et qu'il est."

MS. Cott. Cal. D. VI. *fol.* 20 b.

[i] Letters of safe-conduct to the Scottish Ambassadors were granted 28 July 1494; but the negotiation (which had been begun in May, when a commission was issued to the Bp. of Durham and others) came to nothing. *Rymer*, xii. 555.

Sir Robert Clifford was induced by a bribe of 500*l.*[k] to return from Flanders, and disclose the plot which cost Sir William Stanley and Lord Fitzwater their lives. The King's account of Perkin in these instructions is also worthy of remark, in reference to the often cited Confession. In the former he is called son of a *boatman*, named *Warbeck*, but in the latter it is said his father's name was John *Osbeck*, who was comptroller of Tournay, but that his grandmother married Peter Flamme, who was "*dene of the botemen*" on the Scheld. There is nothing however in these two accounts that appears to me irreconcileable, for as Lord Bacon says, "for the name of *Warbeck*, it was given him when they did but guesse at it, before examinations had been taken, but yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stucke by him after his true name of *Osbeck* was known;"[l] and there is no reason why Perkin's father might not have been a boatman, or connected with that occupation, previously to his being comptroller, particularly since his grandfather had been so before him. It must also be recollected, that the King might have learnt from Perkin himself more accurate information in 1498, than what he had received from his spies and others in 1494. Henry's great and culpable omission in this instance, as in the case of the examination of Tyrrel and Dighton, was in not openly publishing a statement, signed and verified by competent authorities, which would have been far more satisfactory than "the court-fames," which, adds Bacon, "commonly print better (i. e. impress themselves more strongly on the public mind) than printed proclamations."

The motives assigned by the King for Maximilian's open protection of Perkin, were probably the real ones; but all parties, to use a homely expression, seemed to be playing a game of fast-and-loose, according as their own interests prompted them. Notwithstanding the French king's pretended friendship, we cannot doubt that his embassy to the king of the Romans (which at this period is not mentioned by the historians of France) was to cement the treaty concluded in May 1493, at Senlis, previous to his departure on his

k See the extracts from Henry's Privy Purse Expenses, in the *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 100, 101. Our historians have placed the apprehension of the conspirators too early (anno 9) since it must have taken place after Clifford's return (anno 10). The bill of attainder against them passed in the following October. *Rot. Parl.* V. 504[b].

l Hist. Hen. VII. p. 115.

Neapolitan expedition, and consequently that Charles would be very far from giving any open assistance at such a juncture to Henry against Maximilian.

It was in the course of the summer immediately following, that Perkin having received from Maximilian, Philip, and Margaret, the aid of ships and men, made his first attempt on the coast of England, and on the 3rd July, 1495, landed a portion of his troops at Deal in Kent. The time had been well chosen (having probably been previously concerted with some secret agent in England) for Henry was then engaged on a progress towards the north, and did not return till the middle of October. Had the adventurer indeed at this period been joined by any persons of rank, or his cause espoused by the people, as he had vainly been led to hope, the issue might have been very different. Finding, however, that the forces he had landed were received as enemies, and either slain or captured, he immediately altered his course, and steered towards Ireland, where, with the assistance of the Earl of Desmond, he laid siege to Waterford; but having been compelled to raise the siege by an army under the command of the Lord Deputy, and having lost three of his ships, he retreated with precipitation, and returned again to Flanders, *re infecta*.[m] The result of his ill success was soon apparent, for the interruption of trade between England and the Low Countries had for some time been a source of distress to the Flemings, and this, united with the ill reception Perkin had met with, determined the Archduke to pursue a different line of policy, and to open negotiations with Henry for peace. The ambassadors appointed on the English side were Fox, Bishop of Durham, John, Viscount Welles, John Kendal, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, and others; and the treaty was concluded at London, on the 24th Feb. 1495-6, by the fourth article of which it was mutually agreed by the contracting parties, not to admit the enemies or

[m] None of the English historians take notice of the landing of Perkin in Ireland, or the siege of Waterford at this time. The fact, however, is undoubted, since in the Royal MS. 18 C. xiv. are the original accounts of the sub-treasurer of Ireland, giving all the details of the expenses incurred on the occasion. The L. Deputy took the field with the King's Standard displayed before the 23d July. The names of the Captains of the gunners, who raised the seige, and captured the ships, were Adam van Edyngton and Will. Warrewick, in reward for which they received 4*l.* on 26 Aug. One of the ships, named the *Kekeout*, was sold to Henry Wyot on 14 Aug. for 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; another was sold to John Clerc for the same sum, and the third, called "le Mare," was sold to the same for cloth to the amount of 40*l.* The account of the siege of Waterford, given in Ryland's History of that City, pp. 30, 31, 8vo. 1824, and placed under the year 1497, ought undoubtedly to be referred to 1495.

rebels of each other into their territories, and by the fifth article, to expel such rebels from their territories, within a month after it was required.[n] These articles were evidently levelled at Perkin, who yielding to necessity (as on a former occasion, when under the protection of Charles the Eighth), once more set sail, and directed his course again to Cork in Ireland,[o] where, however, he remained but a short period, for by the measures of Sir Edw. Poynings, "there was nothing left him," says Bacon, "but the blustring affection of wild and naked people." He therefore at once resolved to proceed to Scotland, and try his fortune at the court of James, to whom he is said to have had strong letters of recommendation from Maximilian and Philip, and who was known to bear no good-will to Henry. His speech to James, on his first audience, as reported by Polydore Vergil and his followers, I have before noticed. The exact words are probably the invention of the historian, but the substance is unquestionably accurate, as will be evident to any one who compares it with Perkin's letter to Isabel. The reply of James was favorable, and was no doubt influenced by a belief in the justice of Perkin's claims. This, indeed, is admitted both by André and Polydore, who only accuse James of having been deceived; and on no other ground than a conviction of Perkin's being the real Duke of York, can we reasonably account for James having bestowed on him his near relation the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of George, second Earl of Huntley, in marriage. Here then for the present we will leave Perkin, basking in the sunshine of the honors he had fortunately obtained.

It is now time to direct the attention of your Lordship and the Society to a very remarkable paper, never yet brought into notice. It purports to be the Deposition of one Bernard de Vignolles,[p] a Frenchman, dated at Rouen, 14th March, 1495-6, disclosing a secret plot to take away the King's life, with other proceedings of the conspirators, in favor of Perkin Warbeck. The principal

[n] Rymer, xii. 378. Henry's Hist. Engl. vi. 33, ed. 4to.

[o] Perkin's descent took place in March, and seems to have been very sudden, for in the accounts of Will. Hatteclyffe, sub-treasurer of Ireland, I find 66*s.* 8*d.* allowed for two horses, which were lost by John Wyse, proceeding towards the Earl of Desmond, in Munster, "eo quod *Perkynus Warbec* hoc vice applicuit in partibus illis cum rebellis d'ni Regis," so that he was compelled to fly and leave the horses behind him. MS. Reg. 18 C. xiv. f. 45 b.

[p] I can find no other particulars concerning this individual than what he relates of himself.

persons accused were John Kendal, Grand Prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Sir John Thonge (Thweng?) his nephew, a knight of the same order, and Dr. Heusse (Horsey) Archdeacon of London. The first of these individuals is remarkable from his having been the subject of the earliest contemporary English medal in existence, of which an unique specimen formerly belonged to Thoresby, and is now in the cabinet of the Duke of Devonshire. The date of this medal is 1480, the period of the siege of Rhodes by the Turks, and on it he is styled *Turcopolier*, or General of the Infantry of the Order, the office of which was annexed to that of Grand Prior of England. Yet, as my friend Mr. Hawkins has noted, although the medal so designates him, it is not probable he was actually present at the siege, for in that very year Edward the Fourth ordered all persons in Ireland to assist John Kendal in procuring aid of men and money against the Turk, and he is designated as Turcopolier of Rhodes, and locum-tenens of the Grand Master in Italy, England, Flanders, and Ireland.[q] I find that he succeeded John Weston as Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, near Clerkenwell, but the exact date is not ascertained, and the earliest discovered is the year 1491.[r] In this capacity he appears to have acquired the confidence of the King, and we subsequently find him employed in political negotiations of great moment.

[q] Rymer, xii. 112. Dat. 29 Apr. 1480. The medal (which in all probability was executed in Italy) is engraved in Pinkerton's Medallic History of England, 4to. 1790. On the reverse is his shield of arms, *viz.* a fret, in chief a cross of Rhodes. The same arms impaled with those of England, are said to decorate the walls of an hotel at Rhodes to this day. His family is supposed to belong to Yorkshire; but respecting this I have been unable to gain precise information. He had obtained from the Pope the power of granting certain religious indulgences to those who should contribute to the support of the Order, and had for that purpose printed forms on parchment, with blanks left for the names of the parties. My friend the Rev. Joseph Hunter informs me he has seen one of these forms, granted to Richard Cattlyn, chaplain, and John Cattlyn (a Yorkshire family) dated 16th Apr. 1480, and in it he is styled "Frater Johannes Kendale, Turcipolerius Rhodi, ac Commissarius à Sanctissimo in Christo Patre Sexto Papa Quarto, et vigore litterarum suarum pro expeditione contra perditos Turchos, Christiani nominis hostes, in defensionem Insule Rhodi et fidei Catholice facta et facienda concessarum, per universum orbem deputatus." It is dated from the House of St. John, Clerkenwell, and Mr. Hunter concludes, with great probability, that these forms were printed in England.

[r] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 670. *Monast. Anglican.* vi. 779, new ed. He is stated to have died in November 1501.

Thus, in June 1492, he was nominated one of the Commissioners to treat of peace with France,[s] and in February 1495-6 he again occupies the same office,[t] in arranging the treaty with the Archduke. In September also of the former year he receives the royal license to import fifty casks of Gascon wine free of duty.[u] Of his nephew Sir John Thonge, or Thweng, I have been unable to glean any particulars, but of his other confederate, Dr. William Horsey, some account may be found in Newcourt's Repertorium.[v]

The substance of the Confession is as follows:

First, that the above-mentioned three persons being at Rome, sought for means to kill the King of England, his children, his mother, and those near his person, and with this intention they became acquainted with one Rodrigo, a Spaniard, and astrologer, and the said Archdeacon went to lodge at his house, thinking he would be able to accomplish their designs, which he could not. At length they discovered another person, named Master John, also a Spanish astrologer, who, on hearing their wishes, made answer, that he could do what they desired, and with this view they made a bargain with the said Master John, for a certain sum of money; and to have more complete proof that he could accomplish what he had undertaken, they caused him to put to death a Turk, who was servant to the brother[x] of the Great Turk, then at Rome, in the Pope's palace. And they delivered the said sum of money to the said astrologer.

Item, when the said three persons quitted Rome to return to England, they left one Stephen, a native of Sardinia and servant of the Prior of St. John, with the said Master John, and caused a considerable sum of money to be delivered

[s] Rymer, xii. 481. [t] Ib. xii. 578. [u] Ib. xii. 487.

[v] Vol. i. p. 62. He succeeded John Forster as Archdeacon soon after 1490, and resigned in 1513. He was Chancellor to Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London, and made Precentor of St. Paul's, 27 Mar. 1514, which he held till 1531. He died about April 1543. In the Privy Purse Expenses of Hen. VII. is an item of 20*s.* paid to him for preaching before the King, 10 March 1492-3. *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 93.

[x] This was Sultan Zemi or Zimime, brother of Bajazet II. who, after rebelling against his brother, retired to Rhodes, and was delivered up to the custody of Pope Innocent VIII. He remained at Rome till 1494, when he was transferred by Pope Alexander VI. to the king of France, and died not long afterwards,—as was supposed from the effect of poison. See *Memoires de Comines*, tom. i. pp. 396, 471, 477; iv. 118.

to the said Stephen and Master John, *par banque* (by bill), after their departure; but the said astrologer subsequently told the said Bernard de Vignolles, that they had not given enough money to carry the enterprise through.

Item, that two years after the said three persons had arrived in England they determined to send a man to Rome, and fixed on the said Bernard de Vignolles, expressly commanding him that he should find means to murder the first astrologer, on account of his having spread reports that they intended to kill the King of England, and also that he should speak to the other astrologer, Master John Disant, about the accomplishment of their project, and to do it, if possible, abroad, without coming to England, for fear of his being known. Concerning which the said astrologer made reply, that to complete their undertaking as soon as possible, he would come to England in the habit of a friar, and because the said astrologer had lost two of his teeth, he would procure two others of ivory, of the colour of his own, and travel by sea in the surest manner, under the pretence of going on a pilgrimage to St. James (of Compostella). And the said Bernard believes, that if it had not been for the want of money to spend on the way, that the said astrologer would have come to England.

Item, at the departure of the said Bernard from Rome, to return to England, the said astrologer gave him a little wooden box, in which was an ointment, that the said astrologer sent to the Prior of St. John, and directed him by the said Bernard, to spread the ointment along and across some passage or door, through which the King should pass, and if this were done, it would cause those persons who bore the greatest love for the King, to betray and murder him. And when the said Bernard had returned to his residence, he went into his chamber, and opened the said box, and when he saw that it was a vile and stinking mixture, he closed it again, and threw it into the jakes. And the next morning he began his journey towards England, and when he came to Orleans, he remembered the said box, and for fear least the astrologer should have previously apprised the Prior of St. John of its transmission, the said Bernard went to an apothecary's, and purchased a box like the former one, and some quicksilver, and returning to his chamber, he took dry earth, soot of the chimney, and water, and mixed them together with the quicksilver, so as to make an ointment of the same colour as that which had been given to him by the said astrologer.

Item, when the said Bernard had arrived at the Prior of St. John's, he related what the astrologer had said, and delivered the box, but the Prior would not touch it, because the said Bernard told him there would be great danger in doing so, and if it remained four-and-twenty hours in his house, it would be very perilous for him; wherefore the Prior commanded the said Bernard to carry the box away to some distant place, and throw it where it could not be found, which the said Bernard did, as commanded.

Item, that three or four weeks afterwards, the Prior came to the said Bernard, who was then very ill, and pressed him to leave the kingdom of England, and gave him a horse and money to do so, and only did this for fear least the said Bernard should be taken, and disclose their evil designs. The sickness of the said Bernard continued for half a year or more, at the end of which time he asked leave to go to his relations and to the country where he was born, with the intention of confessing every thing to the King, for he dared not to do it whilst in England, for fear of the above-mentioned traitors, and with this intention he obtained leave to go (under a promise however to return soon) saying that his brother was waiting for him at Dieppe.

Item, at the commencement when Perkin Warbeck was in Flanders, a servant of his often wrote letters to the said Prior of St. John, which letters the said Bernard has seen in part, but not all, in which was contained in words of secret signification, how the *Merchant of the Ruby* was not able to sell his merchandise in Flanders at the price he demanded, on which account he had gone to the court of the king of the Romans, to see if he could succeed better; the meaning of which is, as the said Bernard states, that Perkin Warbeck was not able to obtain in Flanders so great succours as he required, to make an attempt on England:—the name of the servant who wrote the said letters, is Brother Guillemin de Noion.

Item, there was another merchant in town of Bruges, named Daniel Beauvivre, who was the Chatelain, and who after the return of Perkin Warbeck from the king of the Romans to Flanders, wrote to the said Prior of St. John many times, of which the said Bernard had only knowledge of one letter, in which was contained, how the said merchant had conversed not long before with the said Brother Guillemin de Noion, and that the said Brother Guillemin had told him, that he had got ready nearly all his money, to the amount

of 9 or 10,000 francs, and that he would send it to the said Prior of St. John *par banque* (or bill), and that the *Merchant of the Ruby* would take it with him.

Item, at the time when the King was at Worcester,[y] the said Prior of St. John was in the county of Bedford, at a religious house belonging to the Order, named *Milbourne*,[z] where he caused to be made a certain number of *jacquettes* for his attendants, of the following fashion, viz. the bases of two colors, green and red,[a] in plaits, and above the girdle only two bars, one before and the other behind, like a scarf, of the width of four fingers, or thereabout, and this was in order to place the Red Rose; and in the same manner he caused a body to be made for each jacquette, of the same color, and the said Prior ordered that each of his men should carry it on the bow of his saddle; and the said Bernard states, that this was done with no other intention than to place a White Rose on each jacquette.

Item, one Peter came, who is servant of the said Guillemin de Noion, whom the latter sent to the said Prior of St. John, under pretence of advertising the King of the coming of Perkin into England, the which Peter brought letters of which the King had no knowledge, nor had the said Bernard; and the said Peter told the said Bernard, that he had letters for Thomas Brandon,[b] which he dared not deliver, for fear the said Brandon should feel displeasure at it, and had therefore given them to the Prior of St. John's, to deliver to the said Brandon.

Item, whenever the said Prior of St. John had letters from Flanders, or news, he went or sent to the Bishop of Winchester,[c] John Heusse [Horsey],

y The King was at Worcester during his progress, on the 4th July 1495, the day after Perkin's attempt at Deal. See *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 103.

z *Melchburn* or *Mechelburn*, a Preceptory of St. John of Jerusalem, given to the Order in the reign of Hen. I. Leland speaks of it in his time as being "a right fair place of square stone, standing much apon pillered vaultes of stone." *Tanner*, and *Monast.* vi. 803.

a The colors of York are stated on competent authority to be *blue* and *murrey* (or tawney), and such was the livery of the guard appointed by Margaret to attend on Perkin, when in Flanders. See Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, p. 55.

b Probably the Sir Thomas Brandon who was Master of the Horse to Hen. VII. and Ambassador to the King of the Romans in 1502, See *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 127, 129.

c Thomas Langton, who was translated from Sarum by papal authority, and received the temporalities, 27 June 1493. He died 27 Jan. 1500. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 286.

Sir Thomas Tirel, and Archdeacon Heusse [Horsey], and communicated to them the intelligence; and in like manner, when the Bishop and the others received any news, they communicated it to the Prior.

Item, the said Prior of St. John has been two or three times, once a twelvemonth, to the house of Sir Thomas Tirel,[d] to inquire after news, and discussed various matters between them, and among other things the Prior began to speak how King Edward had formerly been in the said house, to which the said Sir Thomas replied, that it was true, and that the King had formerly made good cheer there, and that he hoped, by God's will, that the son of the said Edward should make the like cheer there, and that the said house had been built with the money of France, and that some day he hoped to gain sufficient to build another as fair; and during the above discourse the said Bernard and Sir John Thonge [Thweng?] were present.

Item, the secretary of the said Prior of St. John, named William Outon [Wotton?], a servant of the said Archdeacon Heusse [Horsey], named Lilly, and another, named John Watre, are all three acquainted with the whole treason, as meditated by the said persons; and the said Lilly and John Watre know the astrologer, who undertook this treason, for they were both living at Rome; and the King ought to take care, that they should not pass out of his realm.

Done at Rouen, the 14th of March, 1495.[e]

A suspicion might naturally arise on the first perusal of this Deposition, whether it were not wholly a fictitious plot, got up by the connivance of the King himself or his agents. But there are various minute circumstances mentioned in the paper itself, which completely refute such a notion, and would induce me to believe that some grounds really existed for its accusations. It is well known that many of the clergy were generally disaffected toward the King, arising, as Turner supposes, from a dislike to the measures of reforma-

d See the pedigree of Tyrell in the *Archaeologia*, vol. I. 383. It is not at present clear to me who this Sir Tho. Tirel was. He is not mentioned in the Act of Attainder, nor by the Chroniclers. The name, indeed, in the original MS. is not so certain as to preclude all doubt on the subject.

e MS. Cott. Cal. D. VI. f. 30. Rymer seems to have contemplated inserting it among his collections, and caused a transcript to be made, whilst the original was in a perfect state, which is now in MS. Add. 5485, f. 230. See a copy in the Appendix to this communication, No. 4.

tion commenced under Archbishop Morton, Henry's confidential adviser.[f] In all the impostures practised against the King was "a priest and a plot," and among the adherents of Perkin arrested with Lord Fitzwater and others, were six clergymen of rank, among whom were two Dominicans, and Sir William Worseley, Dean of St. Paul's.[g] This would lead us to infer, that the Prior of St. John's and the Archdeacon of London were not so guiltless as their escape from punishment would induce many to believe; and this suspicion is strengthened when we find among the rebels who assisted Perkin on his attempt in Kent, in July 1495, the name of James Kething, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland.[h] Prior Kendal, however, was fortunate or crafty enough to escape the King's anger, or even doubts of his loyalty, for in the very same year in which the Deposition of De Vignolles was made against him, we find him presenting a petition, that the lands of the Hospital of St. John, of Kilmainham, in Ireland, forfeited by the treason of the Prior, should not be seised; and in the Act of Attainder against Perkin's adherents, appears a saving clause in his favour, relative to some lands in Essex, near Lord Fitzwater's estate. As to Archdeacon Horsey, the relation given by Fox,[i] of his murder of Richard Hunne, when confined in the Lollards' Tower, is sufficient to convince us that he was a "bold bad man," ready enough to enter into any project that would tend to his own interest.

The information given us in this Document of the secret correspondence carried on by Perkin's agents in Flanders and elsewhere with those in England, is highly curious, and the name by which he was designated "*The Merchant of the Ruby*," may hereafter serve to explain other papers of the period. We also learn the important fact, that Perkin did not receive from the Duchess Margaret the aid so commonly believed to have been supplied, and actually left Flanders on that account to procure it from Maximilian, who was the real promoter of his designs on England. The mention also of John Watre or Water is singular, as in all probability he was connected with the Mayor of Cork of that name, who suffered with Perkin on the scaffold.

[f] Hist. of Engl. iii. 611—615, ed. 4to. 1525.

[g] Fabyan. Pol. Verg. Hall. [h] Rot. Parl. vi. 482[b]. 504[b].

[i] *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 8—17, ed. 1684. Fox adds that he retired to Exeter on a guilty conscience, and durst never return to London.

I shall now return to Perkin's history subsequent to his arrival in Scotland. Shortly after that event Henry dispatched Richmond herald, alias Clarenceux, a third time to France. His Instructions[k] are dated at Shene, 5th March, 1495-6, and, after referring to the visit of the French ambassadors, M. de Bussy and M. Jehan Charpentier, are confined chiefly to three points; first, respecting a personal interview between the monarchs, to which the King agrees;[l] secondly, touching certain overtures made relative to the marriage of the Dauphin and Margaret the King's daughter;[m] and thirdly, concerning a sum of money which had been lent to Charles by Henry, the payment of which the King was content to remit for a twelvemonth.[n] In conclusion, it is stated, that the King had been pressed by the king of the Romans, the king of Spain, and the Pope, to enter into the League[o] against Charles's attempts in Italy, and even to declare war, if necessary, on which accounts measures of pacification are recommended. Perkin is not here mentioned or alluded to; but in a fragment of another paper of Instructions to Richmond, probably given at the same period, it is noted:

"Item, if it should happen that the French King, or any great personages of his Council, should make any question or inquiry, how the King and the king of Scotland accord, seeing that the latter supports and entertains the

[k] MS. Cott. Cal. D. VI. f. 22.

[l] In a separate memorandum given to Richmond, relative to a statement said to have been made by Sir Charles Somerset to the French king, that Henry would shortly pass over to Boulogne, to have a personal conference with Charles, he is to say, that this was merely a suggestion of Somerset himself, without any authority.

[m] A curious proposal is introduced by Henry in this part of the Instructions. He had heard from the French ambassadors that the Queen of France expected to be confined shortly, and he informs Charles, that the Queen of England was in the same interesting situation, and if by God's pleasure, the one should prove a son and the other a daughter, it would be a very desireable match to unite them! This was a pure fiction, or else the Queen miscarried, for she had no child between Elizabeth, born 2 July, 1492, and Mary, afterwards Q. of France, born in 1498.

[n] It was urged that lending this money was contrary to the interests of the king of Naples, although a knight of the Order, and also to the injunctions of the Pope. The king confesses the difficulties which surround him, and says he should be glad to assist Charles, on the score of gratitude for the favors formerly received, if he could do it without incurring censure from other quarters.

[o] Henry afterwards joined the League. See the instrument of confirmation, dated 23 Sept. 1496, in Rymer, xii. 638.

garçon in his kingdom, or in similar words,——and in case they do not speak on the subject, the said Richmond is to endeavour by all proper means to give occasion to such remarks,—he may reply, that concerning this affair, the King cares nothing about it, and that it is the least of all his troubles. For the said king of Scotland is unable to injure him in any manner whatever, except, perhaps, in making him spend his money in vain."[p]

After which the said Richmond is instructed, as if from his own suggestion, to address Charles in a prepared speech, reminding him of a promise made (in the August preceding) at Turin, in the presence of many Scottish persons, that if the king of Scotland attempted anything prejudicial to Henry, he (Charles) would openly espouse the King's part, and declare himself the enemy of Scotland. Richmond is to add, that, previous to his departure, the King had received certain intelligence of the hostile designs of James, who proposed to capture Berwick; and the fulfilment of Charles's promise is therefore claimed.[q]

Besides these ample Instructions, Richmond had also a private additional charge, of what he was to represent, on the part of Henry, to the Cardinal of St. Malo,[r] the confidential minister of Charles. First, that the king of Scotland would make some attempt in the course of the year, but that the King " en riens ne le craint ne doubte." Secondly, that overtures had been made

p "Item s'il aduient q' le Roy Francois ou aucun grans personnaiges de [*son*] conseil facent aucune question ou demande à Richemont, comme accordent et font le Roy n're souuerain s^r^ et le Roy d'Escosse, vue qu'il supporte et entretient le *garson* en ses pais, ou de telles ou semblables parolles. Et si d'auenture on ne luy en parle point, qu'il se mette en deuoir par tous bons moiens de doner occasion q' on luy en puisse parler.

"Et ce fait, pourra respondre, quant à ce, que le Roy n'red' souuerain s^r^ ne s'en soucye que bien appoint, et qu'il croit q' c'est le moind[*re*] de tous ses soucys. Car led' Roy d'Escosse ne luy sauroit nuyre en facon quelconque, si ce n'est de luy faire despendre argent en vain." *MS. Cott. Cal. D.* VI. *f.* 28.

q MS. Cott. ibid.

r Guillaume Briçonnet, who had previously held the military rank of General under Louis XI. and was made Bishop in 1490, and Cardinal in 1494. In 1497 he succeeded his brother Robert in the archbishopric of Rheims. He died in 1514. A contemporary writer says of him "lequel pour ce temps là avoit plus credit qu' aucun autre aupres la personne du Roy." See *Hist. de Ch. VIII. rec. par Godefrey*, pp. 98, 638-9.

by some French gentlemen to Sir Charles Somerset[s] (who had recently been sent on an embassy to France) that in case the king of Scots made war on Henry, and their sovereign would give them leave, they would bring to the King the son of the Duke of Albany,[t] who was then in France, to make use of against James. Respecting which the Cardinal is to be conferred with, and also M. d'Orleans (who had spoken on the subject to Somerset), to desire them to use their influence with the French king, in order that the boy might be sent over, for which act the king will hold himself greatly obliged.[u]

It will easily be perceived by the tenor of these Instructions, that Henry began to feel real uneasiness at the protection afforded to Perkin in Scotland, and the open demonstrations of hostilities which were already manifested. He had, however, with his usual prudence and good-fortune, secured in the person of John Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, a secret agent, planted in the very midst of the Scottish court, and able on that account to supply Henry with early information of every thing that passed relative to Perkin. Two letters from him to the King, written in August and September of this year (1496) are printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his *Original Letters*, vol. i. first series,[x] and afford us many interesting particulars. At that time James was on the eve of commencing his foray with an army into the northern parts of England, accompanied by Perkin and his retinue, consisting of 1400 mercenaries of all nations, among whom are specified Sir George Neville, Lound the *priest*, and Heron.[y] Henry had made a weak attempt to ward off the blow,

[s] Natural son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. He was employed in many negotiations, made K.G. and in 1519 created Earl of Worcester.

[t] This was John, son by a second marriage of Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany, whose estates were forfeited in 1479 for his rebellion against his brother. This "boy" afterwards became Regent of Scotland, in the reign of James V. and finally died in France, in 1536, *s. p. l. Douglas's Peerage, by Wood*, vol. i. p. 59.

[u] MS. Cott. Cal. D. vi. f. 26.

[x] Previously also printed, but less correctly, in Pinkerton's History of Scotland, 4to. 1797, Append. 1, 2. The originals are in MS. Cott. Vesp. C. xvi. See an account of Bothwell in Ellis, i. 22, and *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 193.

[y] Probably John Heron, a mercer and bankrupt, who accompanied Perkin afterwards to Cornwall, and fled with him to Beaulieu. See Hall, fol. xlvi. and the King's letter to the town of Waterford, in Ryland's *Hist. of Waterford*, 8vo. 1824, p. 33.

by issuing a Commission to the Bishop of Durham and others to renew the offer of a matrimonial alliance with Scotland,[z] and Bothwell writes, that having solicited James to relinquish the favor shewn to "this *fenyt boy*," meaning Perkin, he refused to do so, unless such things were concluded as the Bishop came for, which James knew well enough were not likely to take any effect. The King of France had also lately sent an ambassador to Scotland (Lord Concressault—the very person who commanded Perkin's guard of honor in 1492) ostensibly for the purpose of mediation, but secretly to make offers to James to send Perkin back again to France.[a] Out of Flanders likewise had arrived succours, consisting of two ships with three-score of Almains, commanded by Roderick de Lalane (Lalain), but he brought no letters from Margaret of Burgundy to Perkin, as the latter apparently had anticipated, and replied but coldly to Perkin's inquiries after his "aunt."

At this juncture, when, to use Hall's words, Perkin was "swellyng with joye, that he after his owne phantasy had made the Scottes to be his partakers," he wrote a letter to Sir Bernard de la Forsse, knight, then at Fuentarabia in Spain, soliciting his good offices, and desiring him to ascertain the sentiments of the king of Spain. This Bernard had not only been employed by Edward IV. as noticed in the letter, but also (which is kept out of sight) had been one of the friends and councillors of Richard III. and was specially selected to be his envoy to Spain in 1483, to conclude the treaty of peace commenced between King Edward and Henry of Castile.[b] The original of this letter is in the British Museum, and a copy of it follows:

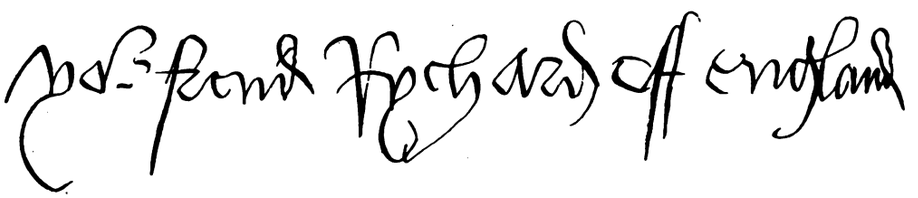
"Right trusty and our right entierly welbeloued. We grete you hartely

[z] Commission dated 2 Sept. 1496. Rymer, xii. 635.

[a] Ellis, i. p. 27. Bothwell adds, that the French Ambassador showed him "how great inquesicion was maid to onderstand of Perkin's byrthe bat be ye Admirall and him; and than I schew him ye writing I had of Meautes, and he planly said he neuer onderstud it, but rather trouit ye contrary." In all probability this alludes to some statement respecting Perkin's origin drawn up by Meautis, Henry's French secretary, which it was now the interest of France to throw doubt upon.

[b] See his Commission, Credentials, and Instructions in MS. Harl. 433. ff. 241, 244, 245 b. The Credentials are dated from York, 12 Sept. 1483. See also a letter from Richard to the Lords of his Council, relating to the same individual. *Orig. Lett.* vol. i. p. 154, *2d ser.*

wele / Signifiyng vnto you. that we be credibly enfo^rmed of the grete love. favouĩ and kyndenes. that ye in tyme passed shewed vnto ouĩ most drad lord and Fadyr kyng Edward the fourthñ. whos soule god rest. withñ the sage / and pollitique counselles. that ye. in sundry wises. ful lovingly gave vnto him. wherby he opteyned. the avauncement and ꝑmotyng of his maters and causes: wherfore ye stode right moche in the favouĩ of his grace. Desire and hartely prey you. to be from hensforthñ vnto vs: as lovyng / feithfull and kynde Counseillouĩ and Frende: as ye were vnto ouĩ said Fader. in shewing youĩ gode and discrete myndes for vs. in suche maters and causes. as by youĩ grete wisdoñ. ye shal seme best to be moved / for ouĩ wele / comforte and relief / and that it wol plese you to exorte move and stiĩ / youĩ lovers and frendes / to do the same / and that we may vnderstond. the gode hert and mynde that o^r most dere Cosyñ / the kynge of Spayne / bereth towardꝫ vs. / And in youĩ so doyng / ye may be sure to haue vs / as lovyng a gode lord. vnto you / or better. than evir was ouĩ said lord and Fader. And eny thinge: that ye shal of resoñ desire of vs / that may conc^o^ne the wele of you. and of o^r right trusty and welbeloued ſũnt / youĩ son / Antony de la Force: whicñ hath full lovingly. geveñ his longe attendaunce vpoñ vs / in sundry Cuntreys. we shal w^t gode herte / be redy / to accomplissñ. and parfourme the same / when it shall plese almighty god to sende vs vnto ouĩ right / in England: and that it may plese you. to geve credence vnto youĩ saide Soñ of suche thinges as he shal shewe vnto you. / And ouĩ lord Jhu̅ preſue you in alle honouĩ ioy and felicite. and send yo^u thaccomplisshement of youĩ noble hartes desiĩ. From Edinburgh in Scotland. the xviij day of Octobre.



Addressed, "To oũr right trusty and right entierly welbeloued / Barnard de la Forse knyght at Fount Raby in Spayne."[c]

Indorsed in a Spanish hand:

+
a su al
del duq̃ de Yorq̃.

The autograph signature to this letter is very remarkable from its bold and thoroughly English character, and would cause one to believe that the education of Perkin in this respect, must have been attended to with considerable care.[d] Its date will shew that James did not set out on his expedition till after the middle of October, and it was probably in the same month that the Proclamation was issued by Perkin, in the assumed style of King of England, calling upon his subjects to join his cause, and filled with invectives against Henry.[e] The failure of this attempt is related by all our historians; and, as its success mainly depended upon the degree of assistance Perkin would receive from the Northern gentry, which he had most confidently promised to the Scottish nobles, so the anecdote told by Polydore Vergil is highly probable, that Perkin's affected commiseration of the ravages committed by the Scottish army, excited the suspicion of James, and called forth the taunt in reply, that he pitied a country which he called his, but which did not belong to him, since not a man in it had stept forward in his behalf![f]

In the January following Henry assembled his Parliament, and obtained a large sum of money for the purpose of defending his kingdom, but the mode

c The seal is gone, and only the mark of the wax remaining. No paper mark. On half sheet of paper. Letter fastened by a band or ribbon.

d Perkin is also stated to have written at the same period to the Earl of Desmond, begging him to send forces to Scotland, but without avail, for the Earl had by this time learnt experience. Ware's *Annales,* p. 53, ed. 1658.

e It is printed in Henry's Hist. Brit. vol. vi. App. 1, from a transcript of Birch, and in Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, (from MS. Harl. 283) App. p. xxxvii. It is signed R. R. Bacon's paraphrase of it is unwarrantable in any historical writer. The introductory part, which mentions his escape from the tower, and residence abroad, agrees generally with Perkin's own letter previously copied.

f Pol. Verg. p. 598. Cf. Hall, fol. xl.

of collecting it was so obnoxious, that the result was the Cornish insurrection headed by Joseph and Flammock, which gave Perkin once more a chance of the throne. The battle at Blackheath,[g] however, having put an end to the ill-digested designs of the rebels (upon whom Hall bestows the gentle epithets of "donge-hil and draffe-sacked ruffians"), and the King of Scotland having previously a second time invaded the borders, and besieged the castle of Norham, without success, he finally withdrew his army on the approach of the English forces under the Earl of Surrey, and returned to Edinburgh. Negotiations were again resorted to, and powers to treat were issued by Henry to Fox, Bishop of Durham, and others, dated 4th July, 1497. A copy of the Secret Instructions is preserved in the Cotton MS. Vesp. C. xxvi. f. 21, dated the following day, at Shene, in which the Bishop is directed to represent to James, that the offers made at Jenynhaugh on the part of the Scots, by the Earl of Angus and others, were insufficient, inasmuch as they did not include the delivery of Perkin Warbeck, a point which Henry insisted on.

"And therefore," (proceed the Instructions,) "you shall demand and require on our behalf of our said Cosen, that he deliuer vnto vs Perkin Warbeck, the w^ch^ deliuerance of him we desire not for anie estimation that wee take of him, but because our said Cosen receiued him within his land, & fauourably hath entreated him & diuers others of our Rebells, during the peace concluded betwixt vs both,[h] & ouer that, hauing him in his companie, entred in puissance within our land, the which was the cause & ground of breache of the said peace, & less therefore may wee not do with our honor, then to haue the deliuerance of him, though the deliuerance or hauing of him is of noe price or value.

"Item, if our said Cosen shall not be agreeable to the deliuerance of the said Perkin vnto vs, as is before rehersed, the which as wee thinke (sith he is not the person that he surmised him to be, when hee obtained his sauff-conduct of our said Cosen, as it is well knowne through all these parts of the world,) hee might with his honor and without his damage well doe, and so satisfie our mynde for our honor on that behalf:"—another mode is suggested

[g] 22d June, 1497.

[h] The King alludes to the peace of 25 June, 1493.

of arranging a peace, namely, by a solemn embassage to be sent from Scotland, and king James himself to come in person to Newcastle.

"And finally you shall by all wise meanes to you possible, endeavor your self to haue the said Perkin deliuered vnto vs, and also y^e^ saide solemne ambassage to bee sent vnto vs, as is before rehersed, the which to obtaine and haue, should bee to the conseruation of our honnor, and most to our desire and pleasure."

And in case James refused all these propositions, then the articles proposed at Jenynhaugh to be accepted.

The credit of suggesting this negotiation is ascribed by Polydore to Pedro de Ayala, Prothonotary, and envoy from the king of Spain to James the Fourth,[i] and in the truce concluded for seven years at Aytoun, on 30 Sept. he appears as mediator between the English and Scotch commissioners.[j] On the 4th October following he received also a separate commission from James, impowering him to treat with Dr. Warham, and by them the truce was prolonged to the life-time of both monarchs.

It will be seen, that previous to the date of the Bishop of Durham's instructions, Perkin had obtained from the king of Scotland letters of safe-conduct,[k]

[i] Some of our modern historians, misled by Bacon, represent Ayala as having been ambassador to Henry, and sent by him to Scotland, which is not true. The Spanish envoy, then resident at London, was Don Rodriguez Gonzales de Puebla, sent in July, 1497, to arrange the alliance of marriage between Catharine and Prince Arther. *Rymer*, xii. 658. See p. 189.

[j] Rymer, xii. 673.

[k] In the articles of truce made at Aytoun, the 6th stipulated that rebels and enemies were not to be received in the dominions of either sovereign, but banished within twenty days, or surrendered. Then comes a clause—"Salvis *conductibus* per principes predictos aut eorum aliquem de præterito concessis." Rymer, xii. 675. The letters patent of James, confirming these and the other articles of 5th Dec. were dated 10 Nov. 1497-8; but Henry did not like the above clause, and in his Instructions to Christopher Carhill, Norroy, sent to the king of Scots subsequently, preserved in MS. Cott. Vesp. C. xvi. f. 115, a proposal is made relative to it as follows. "It'm in the same article be left out thies wordes *salvis conductibus*, &c. For the pryncipall cause moeving his seid Cousyne [James] to put in the seide wordes *salvis conductibus*, &c. was for a graunt of saue conductes made by [hym] to *Perkyne*, and othere his adherentes, the Kynges rebelles. And forasmuch as [at] this tyme the said Perkyne is in the Kynges kepying, and at the commandement of his grace, and shalle never vse the benefaicte of the said saue conductes; and also his adherentes, the Kinges rebelles, be departed out of his seid Cosyne his realme; and

and shortly after he received his dismissal from James in civil terms. There was no remedy;—and Perkin, accompanied by his wife and a slender retinue, again embarked, and once more sailed to Cork, where he arrived on the 26th July.[l] Here, however, he met with only a cold reception, and narrowly escaped being taken by the earls of Desmond and Kildare, who probably would have gladly embraced so good an opportunity of making amends for their former rebellion. In this extremity, intelligence arrived of the discontented state of the Cornish men, who, in spite of their late defeat, were willing again to join in insurrection against the King, and Perkin, urged on by the councillors about him,—who advised him no longer to trust to the promises of kings, "who would sell poor princes for shoes,"[m] but to boldly venture on a higher stake, the inclinations of the populace,—set sail with two small ships and a pinnace, accompanied by about six-score men, and landed in Whitsand Bay on the 7th September.[n]

The issue of this short-lived and ill-concerted attempt may be read in André, Polydore Vergil, and Hall, and with more interest in some curious letters from

if thei shuld vnder the coloure of theire seid saue conductes resorte and repaire into the same realme agayne, and there to haue aide and socure, there myght growe a gruge betwene the Kynges grace and his seid Cousyn; and to thentent that betwene the Kyng and his seid Cosyne there should be no gruge, nor coloure of gruge, it is thought expedient thoes words touchying suche saue conductes to be left out."

[l] See a letter from the King to the mayor and citizens of Waterford, thanking them for the information they had conveyed by their letters of the 1st. Aug. of Perkin's landing, and his intention to sail thence to Cornwall, and praying them to send forth ships to the sea for the taking of Perkin, for whom the sum of 1000 marks is offered in reward. Dated Westm. 6 Aug. (1497). Ryland's *Hist. of Waterford*, p. 32. It is to be regretted that the curious letters in this local work are given in so unsatisfactory a form, both to the antiquary and historian. The compiler of the book does not even think it worth his while to inform his readers where the originals are deposited, but I presume they exist in the archives of the city of Waterford. Comp. Ware's *Annales*, p. 60.

[m] Bacon, p. 179.

[n] Comp. the King's letter to Sir Gilbert Talbot, dated 12 Sept. in Ellis's *Orig. Lett.* i. 32. 1st. ser. Hall, fol. xlv[b], and act of attainder, *Rot. Parl.* vi. 544[b].

It seems that Perkin narrowly escaped being captured whilst on his transit, for he was pursued by "four great ships," fitted out at the expense of the citizens of Waterford, who in a petition to the King a few years afterwards (1499) claim thereby the merit of having caused him to fall into the King's hands. *Hist. of Waterford*, p. 38.

the king, the Earl of Devon, and the Bishop of Bath, printed by Sir Henry Ellis.[o] Perkin fled from Taunton on the 21st Sept. to the sanctuary at Beaulieu, in the New Forest, and on the 5th Oct. was brought back prisoner to the King (then at Taunton), and carried with him to Exeter, where Henry arrived on the 7th October.[p] The narrative of André relating to Perkin's surrender, and what subsequently took place at Exeter, is worthy of notice, from its containing circumstances overlooked by all other writers.

The Lady Catharine, Perkin's wife, had been taken prisoner at St. Michael's Mount (a few days previous to the 18th October), and brought to the King in an honorable manner,[q] on account of her noble birth; and after Perkin had openly confessed to the King the history of his life and imposture,[r] Henry caused the Lady Catharine to be brought in, and having addressed a few words of sympathy to her,—called forth no less by her beauty and youth, than by her tears and affliction,—he caused Perkin to repeat to her the confession he had already made, which, the historian assures us,—hesitating between fear and shame,—he at length complied with. Shortly after, the Lady Catharine was sent to the Queen at Richmond, "accom-

o *Orig. Lett.* i. 1st ser. from transcripts in vol. 50 of Dodsworth's Collections. The originals seem to have been found among the papers of the Plumpton family. It is also stated, that a paper giving an account of Perkin's landing, signed by Sir Henry Wentworth, and dated 16 Sept. 1497, exists in Mr. Upcott's hands. *Report of the Committee on the British Museum*, pt. 2 (3781). See also a long and valuable letter from the King to the city of Waterford on the subject, dated from Exeter, 18 Oct. in Ryland's History, p. 33.

p See *Excerpt. Hist* p. 114.

q Polydore merely says, "ad regem *captivam duxerunt*," which Hall translates, "brought her streight like a bonde woman & captyve to the Kyng." fol. xlvii b.

r In the same manner the King writes to the Mayor of Waterford:—"And so the said Perkin came unto us to the town of Taunton, from whence he fled; and immediately after his first coming, humbly submitting himself to us, hath of his free will openly shewed, in the presence of all the lords here with us and all nobles, his name to be Pierce Osbeck, whence he hath been named Perkin Warbeck; and to be no Englishman born, but born of Tournay, and son to John, sometime while he lived comptroller of the said town, with many other circumstances too long to write; declaring by whose means he took upon him this presumption and folly; and so now the great abuse which hath long continued, is now openly known by his confession." *Hist. of Waterford*, p. 35. All this is very important, because it tallies with André's account, and with the Confession subsequently published, which therefore could not have been so deliberate a fabrication at or after Perkin's trial, as Walpole and the writers on his side would have us believe.

panied with a goodly sorte of sad matrones and gentlewomen,"[s] and on the 23rd of the same month, the King addressed a Latin letter to Docter Rodriguez Gonzales de Puebla, the Spanish envoy, in reply to a congratulatory epistle on the King's success. In this letter Henry writes: "We have sent the wife of Perkin to the queen, our illustrious consort, and we shall bring Perkin with us at our return, which we hope will be shortly. In respect to the Scots, we understand that a legation is determined on to be sent to us, but not such, nor so honorable, as we heard it would be from yourself; for we learn from the Bishop of Durham, that only a certain Prothonotary[t] will be appointed envoy.[u]"

The remainder of Perkin's history may be dismissed very briefly. He was brought to London on the 28th November,[w] and appears occasionally to have been permitted to ride out on horseback, attended by keepers, for the purpose of being exposed to the gaze of the multitude,[x] which ran to see him, as if he had been some monster.[y] At the beginning of June, he contrived to escape, but was taken again soon after, and on the 14th was set in a pair of stocks with great ignominy before Westminster Hall, and on the following day, on a scaffold in Cheapside read publicly the Confession printed in Hall, and expressly stated to have been written "with hys awne hand."[z] He was then committed to the Tower, where he remained until the November of the following year, 1499, when having attempted again to escape, he was on the 16th of that month, together with his accomplice John Water, a merchant and sometime Mayor of Cork,[a] arraigned for high treason. "And on the three and twenty

[s] Hall, *ibid.* In Henry's Privy Purse Expenses, on the 15th Oct. occurs the payment of £7. 13*s.* 4*d.* to Robert Suthewell, for horses, saddles, and other necessaries for conveying her to the Queen. *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 115.

[t] This of course was Pedro de Ayala. See p. 186.

[u] The entire letter is printed in the Appendix, No. 5. from the original in the British Museum.

[w] Fabyan, Stowe.

[x] The expenses of Perkin's "horsemete" is accounted for to the end of April, 1498, at 5*d.* a day, and on the 23rd of May, 11*s.* were paid for his riding gown. *Excerpt. Hist.* p. 117.

[y] Pol. Verg. and Hall.

[z] Hall, f. xlix[b].

[a] It appears from Smith's *History of Cork*, 8vo. Dubl. 1774. vol i. p. 422. that this *John Water* (or, as he is there called, *Walters*) was Mayor in the years 1490, 1494, and 1499. At

daye of the same month," says Hall, "Perkyn and John Awater were drawen to Tyborne, and there Perkyn standyng on a lytle skaffolde, redde his Confession, whiche before you have heard, and toke it on hys death to be true, and so he and Jhon Awater asked the king forgeuenes, and dyed paciently."[a]

Having thus traced Perkin's career from the period of his first appearance until his death, I shall trespass but a very short time longer on the time of your Lordship and the Society. The circumstances connected with his various turns of fortune are too remarkable not to excite an interest with all who are fond of sifting thoroughly the obscurer portions of English History; for, as Lord Bacon truly remarks, "it was one of the strangest examples of a personation that ever was, in older or latter times;" and an earlier writer[b] says, in reference to Perkin's long continued practices against the King, that "the push it gave to his soveraignty did throughly try his sitting, being of force enough to have cast an ordinarie rider out of sadle."

It was not my intention, in laying these Documents before the Society, to canvass *seriatim* the arguments advanced by the writers on opposite sides of the question, but chiefly to confine my remarks to the illustration of the documents themselves. It will however doubtlessly have been collected from the whole tenor of this communication, that my sentiments, on a candid review of

the time of Perkin's first landing or shortly after, the Mayor was John Lavallen, who is named also in the Confession, but it is stated in the same paper, that John Water was one of the first promoters of his enterprise. Ware adds in his Annals a singular report, that Perkin had been an apprentice to him, p. 38. In 1493, the same Water, together with his son Philip, Dean of Limerick, were cited to appear before the Parliament at Dublin, *ib.* p. 41; and in the general pardon to the rebel Irish, 26 Aug. 1496, Lord Barry and John Water are expressly excepted. *Rymer*, xii, 634. In the articles also sent to the Irish House of Commons, as registered on the Patent Rolls, 28 March, 13 Hen. VIII. [1497-8] there is a clause: "Item, prayen the Commons, that forasmoche as William Barry, called the Lord Barry, of Monster, and oon *John Water*, of our Cite of Cork, merchant, have nowe of late at severall tymes receyved as well lettres with certain instructions from *Parkyn Wosebeck*, and the same hath conceled, and as yet kepith secret from the knowlege of our sovereigne lord, and all and every of his most honorable Councell, contrary to their naturall duety of allegiaunce, &c. it be ordeyned and enacted by autorite of this present parlement, that the said William Barry and John Water, and either of them, be atteyned and convyct of high treason." &c. *Inedited collections of Rymer*, MS. Add. 4618. No. 2.

[a] Hall, f. li. [b] Speed, p. 738. ed. 1611.

the entire evidence, are decidedly unfavorable to Perkin's pretensions. There is, I admit, still much to be wished for; and had the Privy Council Books of Henry's reign been in existence, or the series of State Papers of that period complete,[c] much more might have been done to elucidate the course of events. But I may be permitted to remark, that by the publication of these documents, the greater part, if not all, the objections of Walpole, Laing, Bayley, and others, fall to the ground, whilst the counter-arguments of Lingard and Turner remain in full force. To sum up the whole in the words of Lord Bacon: "it was one of the longest playes of that kind that hath been in memorie, and might perhaps have had another end, if hee had not met with a King both wise, stout, and fortunate."

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

Rt. Hon. The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.
President S.A. &c. &c. &c.

c It is not impossible, that among the *miscellaneous documents* at the Tower, there may exist some of the private correspondence relating to Perkin. I am one of those who regret, that all papers of this description, in whatever Office of Record they may exist, have not been transferred to the British Museum, where they might be consulted with far greater facilities, as in the case of the Pipe Rolls.

APPENDIX, No. I.

Extract from the inedited Life of Henry VII. by Bernard André, MS. Cott. Dom. A. XVIII. *so far as relates to Perkin Warbeck.*

[fol. 208 b.] *De Perquino.*

Verum est quod vulgo dicitur, invidia moritur nunquam; hoc siquidem in eo, quod mox dicturus sum, indigno facinore, luce clarius cernere est. Illa namque, salve (*sic*) regie stirpis reverentia, Margareta Burgundie, Juno quondam huic Regi altera, tantis pristinis odiis non saciata, novum quoddam et inauditum antea facinus in Regem nostrum excogitavit, ejusque immortale odium, quia eterna est mulieris ira, ad Regis nostri subditos derivare conata est. Non autem potuit ejus toxicum nisi leves ac futiles movere personas. Inter quas secretarius Gallicus Regie serenitatis, nomine Stephanus Frion, veneno muliebris suggestionis infectus, à Rege defficiens, cum aliquot sui ordinis nebulonibus transfuga, quicquid in Regem potuit demolitus est. Verum cognatus illius irritus extrema eumdem miseria mulctavit. Hujus autem factionis conspi[r]atores plurimi tunc nominati sunt, quos viritim recensere perlongum esset. Petreyum autem, quemdam Tornacensem, ab Edvardo quondam Judeo, postea à Rege Edvardo sacro levato fonte, in hac regione educatum, Regis Edvardi Quarti minorem filium effinxerunt, illumque per varias terras enutritum simulantes, tandem in Franciam, consilio predicti Fryon, ad Karolum Octavum perduxerunt; ymo vero Galli, ut aiunt, illum magnis pollicitacionibus, ut Regem nostrum deterrerent, ex Hibernia acciverunt. Qui, cùm rem suam cum Gallis parum succedere cognovisset, Junone illum revocante, in Flandriam profectus est; post in Hyberniam, coronationis gratia, prospero vento delatus, magnam barbarorum illius insule partem suis calidissimis subornavit tentacionibus. Explicabat enim, et ex prompta memoria repetebat omnia Edvardi Quarti tempora, omnesque illius familiares ac domesticos, uti fuerat instructus, et à parvulo noverat, memoriter recitabat. Addebat preterea locorum, temporum, personarumque circumstancias, quibus illorum hominum levitati facilius persuadebat. Usque adeo res hec tali velata figmento invaluit, ut prudentes quoque ac magna nobilitate viri ad idem credendum inducerentur. Quid tum postea? Prophetie quedam de illo longè latèque falsò à pseudo-prophetis divulgabantur, que vulgares et populares animos prorsus excecabant. Postremò, dolis fraudibusque male consulentium effectum est, ut è Flandria solvens in Angliam properaret, et eo potissimum tempore, quia Rex in longinquis regni sui remotisque longè à Cancio

partibus tunc occupatus erat. Quare paratis omnibus sumptu et impensa Junonis, armata classis in Cancium dirigitur. Cujus prefecti [a]
viri alioquin bello prestantes, se pelago fortuneque crediderunt. Canciani vero, superioribus castigati temporibus, formidolosi, primum dubitare, pars quid eis pro novissima conspiracione acciderat, cogitare, Christum enim paulo ante cum apostolis in mundum rediisse, ut aiunt, effingentes, ignaros agrestes seduxerant, condignasque factis penas luerant. Quas ob res, post jam memorate classis appulsionem, unanimiter regiis hostibus repugnare decreverunt. Consilio autem coacto, primum illos humaniter ad terram recipientes, auxiliaria arma polliciti sunt. Navis autem Petrey vento, ut fertur, adversante, seu, ut alii volunt, illo jam dolum suspicante, longe relicta fuit. Que cum alios jam captos audivisset, fuga salutem comparavit. Illi vero, desperatis rebus, ubi se delusos cognoverunt, primo de fide queri, post confligere, sed ab N.[a]
facile superati sunt, et ad certum diem Londinum, restibus, ut fures, ordine vincti, preter vulneratos qui bigis ducebantur, magna omnium expectacione ingressi sunt. Et post aliquot dies alii capite pleri, alii laqueo vitam finierunt, numero pene quadringenti. Rex autem qui visitandi regni gratia ab urbe, ut dixi, longè tunc aberat, Deo semper gracias agens, ubi illos captos audivit, talia placido reddidit ore.

Regis gratulatio.

"Non sum nescius, misericordissime Jesu, quantus in hunc Saturni diem [b] precibus tue piissime matris michi victorias contulisti, quas quidem omnes non meis meritis, sed dono celestis gratie tue ascribo. Vides, benignissime Jesu, quot in me insidias, quot fraudes, quot tela paravit atrox illa Juno, que tamen post nostrum connubium se letabundam simulans, omni nos favore ac benevolencia prosecuturam, bona fide promiserat. Sed vento mobilior, omnia divina et humana pervertens, Deum non timet, sed in suum sanguinem infensa molitur exicium. Tu, Deus, qui omnia nosti, si meremur, ab hiis quoque malis nos libera; sin peccata nostra meruere pati, fac nobiscum in beneplacito tuo. Gratias nichilominus tue gracie debemus immortales, quas etsi lingua pro dignitate non possumus, habendi tamen bono semper sumus animo. Et ea quidem mente, ut nulla unquam prosperitas, nulla adversitas, nulli casus, nulla diversitas locorum aut temporum tui nos faciat esse immemores."

[a] Blank spaces are left in the MS. for the names.

[b] Bacon says on Henry's accession: "He entered the city upon a *Saturday*, as hee had also obtained the victory [at Bosworth] upon a *Saturday*, which day of the weeke, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him." *Hist. Hen. VII.* p. 7. ed. 1641.

His ita à modestissimo Rege explicitis, quid in reliquum tempus agendum esset, cum suo gravissimo Consilio deliberat. Interim Pirquinus cum Junone sua, spe sua frustratus, varias in partes animum ad exequendum propositum applicat. Tandem multa versantibus, commodissimum visum est, ut ab incepto victi non desisterent, sed malis mala superadderent, quare Juno sic exorsa est.

Oratio Junonis.

" Siccine quare, nepos, conatibus nostris fata repugnant? siccine Henrici providentia nos semper eludet? O Britonum adversus progeniem nostram miranda potencia! Jam superioris etatis inter illos et nos tot bella gesta meminisse juvat, quibus illi semper inferiores extitere. Nonne usque ad Calvaladri tempora Saxonum invicta manus Britones cunctos perdomuit? Nonne Britannicus sanguis hoc uno Henrico nostram posteritatem jam subacturus est? Equidem si non melius nobis prospexerimus, Trojanus ille sanguis stirpi nostre finem imponet. Quare sagaci mente quid contra faciendum sit, investigemus. Ibis itaque, mi dilectissime nepos, ac Regi Romanorum Maximiliano adversam fortunam nostram signifficabis; semper illud in animo et in pectore, quod inter nos de fratris mei filio effictum est, cautè dissimulans. Addes preterea jacturam fortune prefectorum, quos illustrissimus filius ejus, Philippus Archidux, tibi in auxilium dederat, ab eodem Henrico sine misericordia trucidatos. Propterea si te juvare valuerit, te spem maximam ostendes habere, semel propositi nostri fore compotes, eidemque supremi cubicularii Henrici, aliorumque litteras dominorum ad te proximè datos, secretò significabis."

De conjuratione domini Guill'i Stansle.

Hic locus hortari videtur, ut serenissimi Regis nostri tunc supremi cubicularii, domini Guillermi Stansle, conjurationem attingamus. Fuere sub idem tempus viri sanè doctissimi religiosissimique cum predicto cubiculario in conjuratione deprehensi, inter quos quia excellenti sacrarum litterarum scientia precellebat, primum Sancti Dominici Ordinis Predicatorii provincialem commemoro egregium, deinde doctorem theologum, magistrum Sutum, preterea decanum Sancti Pauli Londini,[c]
et quosdam alios, quorum nomina non occurrunt. Hii omnes pecunias ad Pirquinum vel dederant, vel ab aliis datas clanculò miserant. Verum cubicularius omnium ditissimus, magnos pecuniarum acervos possidebat, quibus illum et tutari et in regnum adducere promiserat. Sed quamvis ex illo preclaro sanguine Stansle editus erat, non debet tamen ejus culpa clarissimos sui generis offendere. Nam, ut inquit apostolus, figulus quedam

[c] A blank is left in the MS. The Dean's name was William Worseley.

fingit vasa ad honorem, et quedam ad contumeliam, et ex eadem massa; fides autem constancia et veritas reliquorum illius generis illa tempestate luce clarius enituit, claretque indies eorum fidelissima sanè erga Regem nostrum observantia inconcussa. Sed ad illum redeamus. Postquam regia majestas tum litteris tum relatu strenui militis domini Roberti Clifort, qui etiam à Rege defecerat, et in Flandriam cum Perquino auffugerat, primum, ut sapiencie ipsius est mos, que de illo referebantur vera ne essent omnia prudentissimè percontatus est, atque ubi sic se habere comperiit, ipsum cubicularium legibus suis puniendum commisit, sicque capite truncatus est. Viros autem illos, quos supra memoravi ecclesiasticos, propter ecclesie dignitatem vita donatos dimisit. Post aliquot vero dies Supremum indixit Consilium, quo quidem tempore Pirquinus Tornacensis oriundus, Maximiliano et aliis adjutoribus, in Hyberniam delatus, idem facere consultus est. Celebrato tandem Consilio.[d]

qui illum gubernabant, optimum factu visum est, ut in Scociam formidine pene diverteret. Coacta igitur classe, in Scociam venit, ibidemque à Rege Scotorum humanissimè susceptus est. Postremò Rex errore deceptus, ut plerique alii etiam prudentissimi antea principes, quia ille diffidere de Scotis videbatur, eodem hoc postulante, de uxore sibi matrimonio copulanda curavit. Dataque est illi egregiis orta natalibus, Regique illi consanguinitate propinquis parentibus illustris domina[e]

preclaris dotata moribus; peractaque conjugii celebritate, cum suis liberis, jam Scotorum auxilio fretus, iterum Angliam petere temptavit, delatusque per occiduas insule oras tandem in Cornubiam venit. Illi vero incolle fulsis illius suggestionibus decepti, Regis Edvardi Quarti natu minorem filium crediderunt, illique tenaciter adheserunt.

De secunda Pirquini invasione.

Serenissimus Rex noster, audito nebulonis adventu, subridens, 'Et ecce iterum ab isto nebulonum principe tentamur,' ait. 'Ite igitur, et ne meorum per ignorantiam subditorum strages aliqua accidat, Pirquinum blandis experiamur habere modis. Cor-

[d] A blank left in the MS.

[e] *A blank is left.* The lady in question was Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of George second Earl of Huntly, and a near relation of the king of Scotland, by her mother Annabella, daughter of James the First. After Perkin's death, she was married secondly to Sir Matthew Cradock, and lies buried with him in Swansea church, co. Glamorgan. (See Walpole's *Hist. Doubts*. p. 135, ed. 4to. 1768,) and *Excerpta Historica*, p. 115.

[f] André omits, as Pinkerton has already noticed, all mention of the expeditions of James IV. into England, and has also confounded, apparently, the rising of the Cornish rebels under Joseph and Flammock, with Perkin's attempt on Exeter.

nubii autem una cum papilione suo Exonie portis ferro ignibusque insultabant; Comes autem Davonie pro viribus resistebat.[g] Rex vero copias miserat, ut non in nebulonem pugnarent, sed ut patriam populumque à malis deffenderent. Reliqua hujus invasionis, quia memoria non teneo, donec pleniore hujus rei sciencia instruar, campo hic quoque relicto supersedeo.[h]

Pirquini Deditio.

Rebus itaque suis jam diffidens ganeo ille predictus, videnque Regis nostri potencie refragari non posse, neque regiis elabi manibus, animo imbelli effeminatoque totus tremore correptus, ac viribus destitutus, ita suos alloquitur.

Pirquini Vecordia.

"Videtis, commilitones mei, Dei maximi potenciam nostris contra stare conatibus; videtis Henrici regum victoriosissimi virtutem et gratiam cum Dei voluntate ita conjunctam, ut adversus illum omnes vires nostre casse prorsus ac nulle debilitentur et concidant. Videtis preterea rerum omnium egestatem atque inopiam nostram, et, ut verius dicam, miseriam. Namque ut vobis nunc verum fatear, quamvis in hunc diem stipendia vobis dare distulerim, profecto nichil michi relictum est, nec nummus quidem; atque haud scio unde habeam, aut quid de me faciam, ita me formido et conscientie timor expugnant, quippe ut aperta veritatis luce, consilium meum, quod hactenus vos celavi, aperiam. Certe quem me vobis esse dixeram Edvardi filius, non sum, neque tali tantaque prosapia dignus. Et quicquid olim signorum aut temporum vobis callidus retuli, totum illud quum parvulus Edvardi quondam Judei, ac ante memorati Regis Edvardi filioli, in Anglia servulus eram, memoriter retinui. Erat enim ille patronus meus Regi Edvardo ac suis liberis familiarissimus. Quare jam michi parcite, queso, et pro vita vestra viriliter agite. Ego enim quo me vertam, quove fugiam, nescio. Tamen utcunque erit, mansuetissimo Regi priusquam peream, dedere me certum est."

His in hunc modum ignavia atque socordia cum lachrimis ad suos expositis, in Belli Loci sanctuarium misellus effugiens se recepit. Postea vero à pientissimo Rege vite veniam postulavit, qua illum Rex quoque donavit clementissimus.[i]

Tremebundus adducitur, joculariterque ab ipsis regiis servitoribus sugillatus, ex-

[g] See a letter from the Earl of Devonshire to the King, dated 18 Sept. [1497] giving an account of the attack, in Ellis's *Orig. Lett.* vol. i. p. 36. first Series.

[h] A blank space of several lines is here left in the MS.

[i] A blank space in the MS. of three lines.

sibillatusque, ridiculum caput miris modis objurgatus est. Interea jussu regio uxor ejus nobilis, que apud Divi Michaelis Montem relicta fuerat, honorificè, propter ejus nobilitatem, adducta est. Qualia vero modestissimus Rex noster illi primitus indignissimo gerrioni verba fecerit narrare, michi est perdifficile, quandoquidem singulari ea colloquio gesta fuere, tum quia ingenioli mei parvitas tot sapientissimi Regis non capit prudentissimas raciones. Verum hoc unum scio, ipsum Regem tantis per illum illustrium virorum mortibus illatis maximè condoluisse. Ille videns Regis benignitatem, sue jam vite securus, audacter totius vite atque audacie tenorem ac seriem explicavit, tam postea ut in publicum, ad improborum terrorem, exiret, literarum monumentis Rex imprimi demandavit.[k] Post deinde conjux illius modesto venustoque vultu, egregia forma, atque etate integra, in regium conspectum magno cum rubore et abortis lachrimis producta est. Cui Rex benignissimus humanissimo sic protulit ore.

Regis ad illam Oratio.

" Doleo equidem, illustris domina, et mecum egerrimè fero, post tot meorum subditorum cladem, vos à tali homuncione fuisse delusam. Nam sanguinis vestri nobilitas, morum ac totius corporis prestantia, forma, et dignitas, alium longè prestantiorem virum expostulabant. Sed quia Deo ita placuit, ut perfidia et improbitate istius nebulonis ad hunc miserum statum perveniretis, equo vos animo perferre ac pati oportet; ceterumque tempus hoc pluribus non indiget; vos equidem hortor et moneo ut casum vestrum equanimiter tolleretis. Polliceor autem hoc regia fide prestancie vestre, quod postquam Deo volente huc accessistis, non aliter quúm propriam sororem me vos pertracturum, utque honestius posthac securiusque maneatis, ad serenissimam Reginam, conjugem meam charissimam, vōs cum honore ac bonis comitibus mittere decrevimus. Hunc autem maritum vestrum nobiscum adhuc, certas ob causas ab eodem intelligendas, retinebimus."

His dictis, illam lachrimarum fonte madentem, quia semper humi genibus se prostrabat, stare Rex jussit, maritumque suum sibi que Regi dixerat, eadem referre precepit. Ille partim timore, partim verecundia aliquandiu hesitans, tandem non illum quem se esse dixerat, apertè fateri, veniam orare, sibi malè fuisse consultum, dolere propter illius abductionem, Regem ipsum orare, ut illam ad suos remitteret. Que postquam explevit omnia, ipsa ejulatu sublato, gemebunda in hec verba prorupit:

[k] In the margin is written by the same hand *Pirquini vita imprimitur.* This is important, as it at once overthrows the objections against Perkin's Confession, because it is omitted bv Fabian and Polydore Vergil.

" Illius uxoris Responsio.

" Postquam me, o perfidissime hominum, tuis falsis narrationibus seducere volebas, quare me è patriis laribus, domo, parentibus et amicis in hostiles manus abduxisti? O me miseram! quantos hic dies luctus, quantasve clarissimis parentibus meis sollicitudines dabit! O utinam ad oras nunquam advenisses nostras! Me miseram! Quid jam amplius nisi mortem, perdita pudicitia, expectam, non video. Hei michi! cur non habeo ex parentibus meis hic aliquem, qui de te supplicium sumeret. Scelestissime, heccine sunt illa que nobis septra (*sic*) promittebas? Sceleratissime, hiccine est ille regius honos quo genus nostrum decoratum iri jactabas? Equidem hic ignota, egens atque inops, quid sperem, in quo confidam, de quo dolorem meum leviam? Aliud videtur prorsus nichil, nisi quod Rex iste potentissimus clementissimusque se me non deserturam (*sic*) promisit; cujus ego regie promissioni omnem fidem, spem, ac salutem meum reposui. Plura dicerem, sed verba vis doloris ac lachrimarum reprimit."

Post hec sapientissimus Rex utrique illi ad culpam, huic in consultationem pro sua singulari prudentia verba faciens, ad Reginam, ut constituerat illam, destinavit. Que paulum remorata, virum propter conjugalem in Christo fidem egriusculè reliquit. Hujus autem ductores fuere.[l]
viri sanè et fide et probitate prestantes. Regina vero tunc apud Richemondiam, audiendi de regiis successibus cupiens, molestissimè residebat. Acta sunt autem hec.[m]
quo quidem tempore Oxonie (*sic*) Rex, in illos qui conspiraverant animadvertens, cunctos ad se duci jussit, quos ex alto sic allocutus est.

Regis ad Cornubios oratio.

" Gravi ac molesto gerimus animo, viri Cornubienses, nequitie et improbitatis vestre contra nos injuriam, quam quidem, teste Deo, inviti ad puniendum hodie processimus. Sed quia legibus nostris parere compellimur, ad malorum formidinem et bonorum exemplum, vos qui tam faciles ad malum animos habuistis, quique sine ullo aut Dei aut nostro timore, homini levissimo auxiliaria arma dedistis, neque cujusquam à nobis destinati admonitione cessastis, dignos meritis vestris penas rependere justum est; residuos vero qui partim errore, partim vestra in nos suggestione deliquerunt, vita donamus."

His breviter ab ipso Rege pronunciatis, omnes ferme qui circiter[o] vita donati fuerant, inter se vincti clamore cum gemitu sublato, Regi maximas gracias agitabant.

The work breaks off here abruptly.

[l] A blank is left for the names.

[m] Another blank. The king arrived at Exeter on the 7th Oct. 1497, and remained several weeks. See *Excerpta Historica*, p. 114.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Letter addressed by Perkin Warbeck to Isabella, Queen of Spain.

[From the Original in the British Museum.]

Serenissima & excellentissima princeps: Domina & consanguinea plurimum honoranda. Vře Maiestati me plurimum cõmendo. Cũ pⁱmogenitus quondam Regis Angliⁿ Edwardi pie memorie: dñi et parentis mei carissimi Princeps Walie: miserando funere extinctus fuisset: Egoꝙ eciam nonum fere agens annum traditus essem cuidam domino extinguendus: placuit divine clementie: ut ille dominus innocentie mee misertus: me viuum & incolumem seruauerit. cum tanen (*sic*) pⁱmo supra sacrum corpus dñi jurejurando me adegerit: ne nomen genus et familiam usꝙ in annos certos cuippiam propalarem. Misit ergo me peregre: cum duobus viris qui me custodirent ac gubernarent. Inde ego pupillus: patre atꝙ fratre Regibus orbus: exul Regno patria: hereditate: cunctisꝙ fortunis expoliatus: per magna pericula ꝑfugus in metu et luctu et merore egi miserum etatem. & fere annis octo per diversas provincias latitaui. Tandem altero eoꝝ qui me gubernabāt defuncto: altero in patriam misso & nunqᵃ postea viso: vix puericiam egressus: solus utꝙ egens: mansi ad tempus in Regno Portugallie; inde in Hyberniam nauigaui. Vbi cognitus ab Illustribus Dñjs comite Exmonie et comite de Quildara: consanguineis meis: simul et ab alijs insule proceribus: magno gaudio et honore acceptus fui. Inde cum Rex Francie multis nauibus & comeatu me euocasset: pollicitus opem et auxilium contra Henricum Richemundie Regni Anglie iniquum detentorem: veni ad predictum Regem Francie: qui me ut cognatũ et beniuolum honorifice suscepit. Cumꝙ minime auxilium pollicitum prestaret: contuli me ad Illᵐᵃᵐ pⁱncipem Dñam Ducissã Burgũdie parentis mei sororem: amitam meam carissimam: que pro sua humanitate et virtute: omni me pietate et honore amplexa est. Simul eius gratia Serenissimus Rex Roꝝ: eiusꝙ filius archidux Austrie: et Dux Saxonie Consanguinei mei cariᵐʲ Necnon Reges Dacie & Scotie: qui ad me oratores amicicie et confederationis gratia miserunt. Idem magni proceres Regni Anglie secreto fecerunt: qui huius Henrici de Richemundia superbam & iniquam tyrannidem execrantur. Verum serenissima princeps Domina et consanguinea cum pro jure nře cognationis: et vře inclite virtutis: in qua ceteros mundi principes justicia: Rebus gestis et felicitate antecellit: non minus qᵘᵃ ceteros pⁱncipes deceat vicem nřam dolere: & nos pio amore prosequi: Oro atꝙ obtestor Vřam Maiesᵗᵉᵐ dat operam apud Serenissimum coniugem: vt simul cum vřa clementia tantaꝝ calamitatum familie nře misereatur. & in iure meo: quod eciam vřm est: me atꝙ meos fauore ope et auxilio prosequatur. Polliceor enim si diuina gratia hereditarium

ⁿ This word is interlined.

Regnū mihi restituerit: maiore coniunctione et amicicia vtriq; vre Maiestati me futurum: q^{a} fuerit Rex Eduardus. Simul me atq; Regnum: non secus q^{a} vrm. vris beneplacitis fore paratissimum. Bene valeat vra Inclita maiestas: Ex opido Andermunda. Octauo kallendas Septembris. anno 1493.

E. V. M.

Consanguineus. Ricardus planta geneſt. Regis quondam Eduardi ſecundus filius Dux Eboracenſis &c ꝛ.

Richard

Addressed: Serenissimæ & Excellentissimæ p^{i}ncipi. Domine Ysabel Regine Castelle. Aragonie. Sicilie. Granate, &c^{a}. Domine & consanguinee mee honorandissime.

Indorsed in a contemporary Spanish hand.

+

a la Reyna. n. S.
De Richard el q̃ se dize
Rey dè Inglaterra.

Written on half a sheet of paper: paper mark a large p. The seal is unfortunately gone, but the mark of the red wax remains. It was a signet, impressed on a band or ribbon.

APPENDIX, No. III.

Instructions given by King Henry VII. to Richmond, otherwise Clarenceux, King of Arms, on his being sent to Charles VIII. of France.

[MS. Cott. Cal. D. VI. fol. 18.]

H. R. Instructions bailleés à Richemont, Roy d'armes de Clairenceaulx, de [*ce qu'il*] aura à dire et remoustrer par le Roy nre f^{r} à son fre & cousin de [*France.*]

Premierement fera pñtacion des lectres du Roy à sond' frere & cousin, avecques [*les*] tres affectueuses recommandacions à ce requises, et luy dira comme le Roy a rec [*u*] par les mains de son escuier Thomyn le Feure, les lectres de creance que sond' [*frere*]

et cousin luy escripuoit par messire Georges le Grec; En luy remoustrant e icelluy messe. Georges estoit tumbé en chemin fort mallade de la goute, tellem[*ent*] qu'il ne pouoit venir deuers le Roy, pour accomplir sa charge.

Apres luy dira comme le Roy a sceu & entendu par led' escuier, que naguaires [*sont*] ariuez deuers sond' frere & cousin, ses ambassadeurs, l'archiuesque de Rans, et [*Monseigneur*] de la Trymouille. Lesquelz il auoit enuoyez en ambassade deuers le Roy des Ro[*mains*], et luy ont dit & rapporté le vouloir & desir que led' Roy des Romains a de ayd[*er*] & fauourizer celluy qui se nomme Plantagenet, et estre filz du feu Roy Edo-[*uard*], et qu'il est deliberé de luy ayder de gens, de faveur, et de ce qu'il pourra. Et à [*cette*] intencion est allé en Flandres, auec bonne puissance. Dont led' frere & cousin du Roy l'a bien voullu aduertir, pour y pourueoir, & s'en prendre garde.

Disant oultre, que Icelluy son frere & cousin, pour moustrer au Roy l'amour qu'il [*luy*] porte, comme Il luy a esté aydant à conquerir le Royalme d'Angleterre, lu[*y*] vouldroit ayder & fauourizer à le garder et deffendre, et que le Roy advise[*ra de la*] forme & maniere de bien pourueoir à son affaire, et dilligeaument, et qu[*ant le*] cas le requiert, à ce que le Roy ne soit souprins.

Offrant comme son bon frere, que non obstant l'armeé qu'il a fait par [*mer et*] par terre, pour l'emprinse du Royaulme de Naples, qu'il luy aydera & favou[*riza*] voulentiers pour la conseruacion dud' Royaulme d'Angleterre, et st que le Roy se puisse ayder des nauires de Bretaigne, Normandie, e besoing en a pour son fuice, en les payant raysonnableme[*nt, et*] ce ne feust l'affaire qu'il a de sad' entreprinse, eust dein: tout & tel secours qu'il luy eust sceu demander.

Plus, luy a remoustré led' escuier, que sond' frere & cousin ne sou..... que led' garson puisse recouurer gens de son obeyssance, pou a fait reffuz à aucuns qui luy en ont fait requeste, am..... leur vie.

..... et pardessus ce, luy a dit, que led' frere & cousin du Roy..... soingner des nauires et gens, qu'il veu andant à ses v... d.....

Et pourtant qu'il dit que l'affaire pourroit estre soudain, Icelluy [*son frere & cousin*] a ordonné et commandé mandement, que tous ceulx qui vouldront aller ... le Roy, ilz y puissent aller, et semblablement les nauires, en les payant con disant que sond' frere & cousin seroit tres deplaisant, qu'il [*ne*] peust venir incon au Roy, pour la fraternité qu'ilz ont ensemble, à quoy le Roy saura bien pou[*ueoir*] par bon conseil et aduis.

Dont, et des bons aduertissemens, et auec les honnourables offres que led' frere [*et cousin*] du Roy luy fait en ceste partie, mesmement des inionctions donnez à ses gens [*et*] officiers, le Roy l'en remercye le plus trescordiallement que faire peult, et ne [*les*] reffuse pas, mais les accepte, parce qu'il congnoist & apperçoit bien, que ce [*iuy*]

meult & procede de bonne & cordialle amour, et qu'il desire le bien & prosperité d[*u*] Roy comme le sien propre, qui est vng tresgrant resiouyssement & confort [*au*] Roy, et à tous ses subgetz, en tant qu'ilz congnoiscent, que ce est meu & procede de son propre mouuement.

Et se peult led' frere & cousin du Roy tenir pour tout asseuré, que le Roy est en ue[*rs*] luy de mesmes vouloir et disposicion, et bien deliberé de luy moustrer par ef[*fect*], quant le cas le requerroit; Combien que le Roy n'entent point, veu que la mat[*iere*] dud' garson est de sy petite estime & valeur, de mectre en paine ne trauail les subgetz de sond' frere & cousin, ne de luy donner cest ennuy pour cest affaire, ... quant le cas aduiendroit, qu'il en auroit besoing, le Roy se vouldroit ayder plus voulentiers de luy que de nul autre prince; Et est le Roy bien deliberé [*que*] s'il venoit quelque fortune ou necessité à sond' frere & cousin, que dieu ne v[*ueille*], de faire le cas pareil pour luy.

Et au regart d'icelluy garson, le Roy ne fait estime nulle de luy, ne de toute sa parce qu'il ne luy sauroit nuyre ou porter preiudice; car il n'y à seigneur ou homme de façon ne d'auctorité oud' Royaulme d'Angleterre ne autres de qu[*elconque*] estat qu'ilz soient, qui ne congnoissent bien que ce n'est que vne abusion t[*res*] manifeste & evidente, pareille à l'autre que la duchesse douagere de Bour[*goinge*] fist, quant elle enuoya Martin Souart en Angleterre. Et est notoirement que led' garson n'est d'aucune consanguinité ou parenté aud' feu Roy Edoua[*rt*], mais est natif de la ville de Tournay, et filz d'ung batellier, le quel s'appell[*oit*] Werbec, comme de ce le Roy est deument acertainé, tant par ceulx qui ont sa vie & gouuernement, que par aucuns autres ses compaignons, qui sont present auecq̃ le Roy, et les autres sont dela la mer, qui ont esté nourriz en leurs jeunesse, lesquelz l'ont publiquemẽt declairé tout au long, cu e Roy des Romains. Et n'y a point de faulte, que les subgetz du Roy le p tresgrande desrizion, et non sans cause.

. ue quant ainsi seroit, que led' Roy des Romains feust en voulo[*ir de luy donner*] assistence, pour invader led' Royaulme d'Angleterre, ce [*que le Roy ne peult au*]cunement croyre, que luy ne autre prince le voulsist abusion que cest, qui est desrogante à l'onneur de prince honnourable y doit auoir es plaisir de dieu, ne luy en pourre, veue grant honneur, et encoires moins de prouffit. Et est le Roy bien sceur que led' [*Roy*] des Romains et les gens de façon de pardela congnoissent bien lad' abusion, [*et*] que ce qu'il en fait, est pour le desplaisir qu'il a prins, et prent, du traicté & app[*ointement*] que le Roy a fait auecq̃ sond' frere & cousin.

Encoires luy dira comme le Roy a sceu par led' escuier les droit; et tiltres que sond' frere & cousin pretend ou Royaulme de Napples, et la forme & maniere de l'enuoy et conduicte de l'armée qu'il a enuoyé, tant par mer que par ter[*re*] oud' Royaulme de

Napples. Laquelle il semble au Roy en son oppinion estre bien et prudentement ordonnée et conduicte, actendu les intelligences qu'il dit auoir es Ytalles.

Dont et de ce qu'il a pleu à Icelluy son frere & cousin si famillieremẽt l'aduertir de la disposicion de ses affaires, et de sesd' entreprinses & intelligences, sentien .. tresfort a tenu à luy, et l'en remercye. Neantmoins le Roy vouldroit voulent[*iers*], tant en consideracion de la propinuité (*sic*) de sang & linaige, qui est entre sond' fre[*re*] et cousin & luy, que aussi pour la fraternité qui est entre luy et led' Roy de Napples, le quel a receu son ordre de la Jarretière, qu'il se peust trouuer quelque bon traicté & appointemẽt entre eulx, et en especeal pour cuiter l'effusion du sang humain, l'onneur et droit d'icelluy son bon frere & cousin gardé en ceste Et semble au Roy, qu'il seroit trop enveulx, s'il pouoit estre moyen de paciff[*ier*] le different, à quoy se employroit de tresbon cueur, ayant congnoyssance du vouloir, plaisir et entencion de sond' frere & cousin sur ce, & non autremẽt.

Et pour ce que le Roy desire pareillement que sond' frere & cousin soit advert[*y*] de ses nouuelles, luy dira que, graces à dieu, le Roy est en bonne santé & prosper[*ité*] dé sa personne, et le Royaulme en bonne & paisible obeissance, autant qu'il a j[*amais*] esté en memoire d'homme. Ce voyant le Roy, et qu'il est en bonne paix, trans[*quillité*] et vnion, aussi bien en sond' Royaulme que partout ailleurs, à ceste cause [*il*] a conclu et deliberé de mectre ordre en son pais d'Irlande, assauoir sur ceu[*lx*] qui s'appellent Irlandois sauuaiges, affin qu'ilz puissent desormais viure police & justice, comme font ceulx de sond' Royaulme, & les autres Irlandois [*de*] langue Angloisse. Et à ceste intencion, Il envoye vne bonne & suffisau[*nte armée*] accompaignée de bons et grans personnages, tant pour la guerre que [*pour la*] justice. Et de ce faire est tres instantement supplié & requis par les n[*otables*] gens d'eglise, grans seigneurs, et autres gens d'estat dud' pais, qui scay[*ent*] lad' langue Angloysse. Lesquelz sont en aussi bonne obeissance ou temps de nul autre prince. Et à ceste fin sont venuz deuers de Duuelin, troys ou quatre autres euesques, le conte de Kildare autres seigneurs et gens d'estat d'icelluy pais. Lesquelz sont en [*aue*]cq̃ le Roy. Et n'y a point de faulte, que lad' armée a y aller sera preste de passer ou moys de Septemb[*re*] [*plu*]start.

..... luy dira que le Roy a entendu pareil[*lement*] moys pñtement

.....

et que entre autres choses de sa charge led' frere & cousin du Roy luy [*a donné*] commandement de dire et remoustrer aud' Roy d'Escosse, que se leu se vouloit parforcer de inuader led' Royaulme d'Angleterre, que donne aucun port, faueur, ne assistence. Car de sa part Il est tou deliberé de ayder et assister le Roy. Surquoy led' Richemont le rem[*ercyera*] trescordiallement, et prent le Roy à tresgrant plaisir de ce qu'il don[*noit*] ainsi à congnoistre aux autres princes de la grant amour & affection qu'il porte enuers luy. Et est le Roy bien deliberé de donner à

cõg[*noistre*] pareillement aux autres princes l'amour & affection qu'il luy porte [*de*] sa part.

Et finablement luy dira, que pour le desir et affection que le Roy a de so estre acertenné de ses nouuelles, et qu'il en soit semblablement adverty [*des*] siennes, Le Roy l'enuoye deuers luy, Luy pryant que par luy, luy vu faire sauoir de sesd' bonnes nouuelles, qui luy sera tresgrant resiouys[*sance*] et confort. Fait & expedié au Manoir de Shene, le x^me^ Jour d'A[*oust*] l'an [*mil*] iiij^c^ iiij^xx^ xiiij.

HENRY R.

MEAUTIS.

[fol. 25.] *Advertissement apart à Richemont de ce qu'il aura à dire en secret aud' frere & cousin du Roi.*

Led' Richemont, quant il verra temps conuenable, remoustera en secret a[*ud'*] frere et cousin du Roy, que se (*sic*) le Roy des Romains se delibere de donner aide et assistence au garson qui se fait renommer Plantagenet, qu'il ne le fait sy non pource qu'il voit l'amytié estre sy grande et entiere entre le Roy et Icellui son frere & cousin, et qu'il ne peult trouuer moien d'y faire romptu . . Meismement pour le desplaisir qu'il prent de la paix que le Roy prinst auecques soud' frere et cousin.

Et peult estre que si le Roy se voulloit encoires incliner & condescendre au desir des intencions dud' Roy des Romains, il pourroit auoir auecques luy aussi grande intelligence et amytié qu'il eust jamais, et plus; ce que le Roy n'est pas deliberé faire, pour chose qu'il luy sauroit ou pourroit offrir. Puis est resolu entierement de tenir ferme & estable ce qu'il a fait et promis auecques Icellui son frere et cousin.

Et scayt bien le Roy, que ledit Roy des Romains entant qu'il voit que le Roy ne se veult nullement incliner à sa voulenté, desireroit voulentièrs trou[*uer*] moien à toutes fins, s'il pouoit, qu'il y eust vng autre Roy en Angleterre, du quel il se peust aider et faire à sa posté, pour puenir à son entrepr[*ins*]. Et quelque semblant que moustre, il est bon à veoir, qu'il se vouldroit voulentiers reuenger, s'il pouoit, aussi bien sur led' frere & cousin du Roy, q̃ sur le Roy. Ja soit ce qu'il n'a matiere ne cause raisonnable de ce faire, si non qu'il se fonde tousiours sur la prinse dud' traicté d . . appointement.

Mais le Roy espoire que sond' frere et cousin & luy seront à mo de dieu, assez de puisance pour resister à sa malueillance. C[*ar*] il vouldroit ores aucune chose entreprendre sur eulx, estans [en] paix et vnion ensemble, comme ilz sont de present.

Indorsed in the handwriting of Richmond:

[*Instruct*]ions du Roy H. vij^e^. à Rychemont Roy d'armes de Claranceaux declairer au Roy Francoys.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

Deposition of Bernard de Vignolles, touching the plot of Prior John Kendal and others, to assassinate Henry VII. in favor of Perkin Warbeck.

[MS. Cott. Cal. D. VI. p. 30.[q]]

C'est la deposicion que fait Bernard de Vingnolles, à lẽcotre de de (*sic*) Sire Jħn Quendal, grant prieur de l'ordre de Saint Jħn de Roddes, Sire Jħn Thongc, son neupeu, pareillemẽt cheuallier dud[t] ordre, mestre archediacre Heusse, Jħn Heusse, son neupeu, vng nõmé Lilly, & vng aultre Jħn Watre, eulx deulx seruiteurs dud[t] archediacre, & vng nõmé Wl̃ãm Wton, secretaire dud[t] prieur de Saint Jħn, les quelz congnoissent l'entreprinse que fist led[t] prieur de Saint Jħn & Sire Jħn Thongc & l'archediacre Heusse, eulx troys estans à Roñe.

Premieremẽt les dessudis troys personnes estans en Rõme, firent cherche (*sic*) de trouuer moien & faczon de entreprendre faire mourir le Roy d'Angleterre, ses enffans, sa mere, & ceulx qui pensoiñt qui estoït pres de sa personne, & de son conseil, et à ceste intencion s'acouainterẽt d'un nomé Radigo, Espaigneul; & se alla ledit achediacre (*sic*) loger à sa maison, pensañt que led[t] astrelogue sceut faire & acomplir l'amprinse que Ilz avoït en intencion, de quoy ledit Rodigo ne sceut faire. Finablemẽt firent serche (*sic*) tant, que Ilz trouuerẽt vng aultre, qui se nõme mestre Jħn, Espaigneul, astreloge, au quel Ilz declairreñt leur intencion; le quel mestre Jħn ouañt leur demande, fist responce, que y sauroit bien faire seus que Il (*sic*) luy deseroint. Et à ceste intencion intencion (*sic*) firent march[é] aud[t] mestre Jħn, po[r] vne sõme d'argent; et pour plus grande apreuue que congneussẽt, que ledit mestre Jħn sauroi[t] bien faire ce que Il (*sic*) luy desiroiñt, I (*sic*) fist mourir vng Turc, qui estoit seruiter du frere du Grant Turc, à Rõme, au pallays du pappe. Et si lediz trois persõnages eu[señt] deliuré la dite sõme d'argent, qu'ilz auoït promis audit astrelogue, Il leur promectoit que Il eust fait seus q[ue] luy auoït desiré de faire.

Item quant lesdiz troys personnages se partirẽt de [Rõme pour venir] en Engleterre, lesserẽt vng nõmé Stefen, seruit[eur dudit prieur] de Saint Jħn, le quel est du pais de Sardine, avecque[s ledit mestre] Jħn, Espaigneul, pour acomplir leur mouais voulloir [et intencion]; & pour ce faire, firent deliurer vne quantité d'argent aud[t] [Stefen], & aud[t] astrelogue, par banque, apres leur dit departemẽt de [Rõme]; le quel Bernard dit, que ledit astrelogue luy a demp[uis dit], que y (*sic*) ne luy auoït point voullu bailler

q The margins of the original have been burnt, but the words wanting are supplied from Rymer's transcript made when the document was complete, in MS. Add. 5485, fol. 230. The few letters in *italics* are supplied conjecturally.

asses argent [pour] acomplir l'amprinse que Ilz auoiñt cõmencé, & ne v[oulait] led' astrelogue y besoingner plus auãt, jusques à ce que I[l eust] eu nouuelles desdiz troys personnages; & cuide ledit Bernard, que led^{t} argent que Ilz fireñt deliurer aud^{t} astrelogue, [que ce] n'estoit seullemẽt sy non po^{r} entretenir led^{t} astrelogue, [atendan*t*] la sõme qu'ilz luy auoiñt promis, & que po^{r} lors Ilz n'[auoiñt] granmẽnt d'argent, que Ilz peussent departir, car Ilz au[oint] assez necessité po^{r} les mener en Engleterre.

Item deux ans apres que lesdiz troys personnages furẽt ari[uez] en Engleterre, delibererẽt par entr'eulx d'enuoier à Rõm[e vng] hõme, à la prierre & requeste dud^{t} archediacre, le quel [ne] cessoit aud^{t} prieur que Il y voulsist enuoier, & sur ce [furent] led^{t} prieur & archediacre d'un cõmun acord, d'y enuoie[r] ledit Bernart de Vinolles, les quelz lui cõmanderent [expresem*ent*] que I (*sic*) trouuãt moien de faire mourir l'astrelogue, qui au[oit] reffusé faire leur desir, pour cause que led^{t} prieur et archediacre auoiñt entendu cõme led^{t} astrelogue au[oit dit] en Rõme, que lesdiz prieur & archediacre, & led^{t} fr^{e} Jh̃n [Thonge] avoint en intencion de faire mourir le Roy d'Engleterre; pareillemẽt cõmanderẽt aud^{t} Bernard, cõme Il eust pa[rlé à l'autre] astreloge, nõmé mestre Jh̃n Disant, que Il acomplist [sa promes], qui l'auoit promes deuãt leur parteĩt de Rõme, & [I (*sic*) ne] se soucyat du poyemẽt que Ilz luy auoiñt promis, car Ilz auoiñt peur que Il ne leur fist cõme Ilz auo[iñt en intencion] de luy faire faire à l'utre, (*sic*) qui est à entendre [la mort du] Roy, & dirrent aud^{t} Bernart, que Il eust d[it audit astreloge], que se luy estoit posible de faire ce que Il (*sic*) [luy desirount] de pardela sans venir en Engleterre, de pe[ur que I (*sic*) ne fust c]ongneu; sur quoy led^{t} astreloge f[ist responce audit Bernart], que pour acomplir plustost leur emprinse, que I (*sic*) vendroit en Engleterre, en l'abit d'ung frere, & pource que Il luy failloit deux dens audit astrelogue, Il en feroit faire deux de yviere, de la coule^{r} des siennes, & dist que I (*sic*) vendroit par mer, pour le plus sur, disant que Il alloit à saint Jacques; & croit led^{t} Bernard, que I (*sic*) ne tint q̃ pour faulte d'argent, que I (*sic*) n'avoit pour despendre par chemin, que led' astrelogue ne fust venu, aud^{t} Royaulme d'Engleterre.

Item au parteĩt dud^{t} Bernart de Rome, pour s'en retourner en Engleterre, ledit astrelogue luy bailla vne petite boucste de boys, en la quelle estoit vng oingneĩt, le quel astrelogue enuoyẽt aud^{t} prieur de saint Jh̃n, & luy mandoit par ledit Bernart, que Il eust fait mectre led^{t} oingneĩt, qui estoit en ladite boucste, au longe & trauers de quelque huys ou porte, par ou passeroit le Roy, affin que passat par dessus, le quel astreloge disoit, que s'il est ainsy fait, que ceulx qui auoït & portoint plus d'amour au Roy, que seroint ceulx qui turoiñt le Roy, & estoit en deffault que ledit astrelogue ne pouuoit aller en Engleterre; & quant led^{t} Bernart fut à son logis retourné, Il vint en sa chãbre, & ouurit ladite boucste, & vit que c'estoit vne villaine & horde puante chose, referma ladite boucste, & la vint gecter ou retrect, & le landemain ledit Bernart print son chemin, pour s'en retourner en Engleterre; & q̃t Il fut à Orleans, Il luy souĩnt de ladite boucste, et de peur que led^{t} astrelogue n'eust escript aud^{t} prieur de S^{t} Jh̃n, cõme Il

luy auoit enuoyé vne telle boucste par ledt Bernart, de peur que ledit Bernart ne fust blasmé, s'en alla ches vng apoticaire, achater vne telle boucste cõme estoit l'autre, & por vne lyart d'argent viff, & s'en retourne à son logis, & en s[a chambre], & print terre seche, & de la suye de la chemineé, av[ecques] de l'eau, & la destrempa, & ledt argent viff ensem[ble; pour] la faire de telle coulleur que celle q̃ ledt astrel[ogue luy] auoit baillé, por bailler audt prieur de St Jh̃n.

Item quãt ledt Bernart fut ariué deuers ledt prieur [de Saint Jh̃n] Il luy conta cõme ledit astrelogue luy avoit dit, & luy d[eliura ladit] boucste, [*que*] le prieur ne voullut toucher, pour ce que ledt [Bernart] luy dist, que c'estoit grant danger de la toucher à cel[uy qui] auoit en volunté d'en faire mal, & que si elle demour[oit xxij] heures en sa meson, que se seroit à son grant dang[er, et] pource ledt prieur cõmanda audit Bernart, que I[l allast . .] en quelque lieu, loingns de sa meson, & la jettat la ou [elle] ne fust point trouuée, & ainsy ledit Bernart fist, cõme luy auoit cõmandé.

Item bien tost apres troys ou quatre sepmaines, ledit prieur [vint] en la chambre ou estoit ledit Bernart, fort mallade, [et] dist audit Bernart, s'il luy estoit posible, que y (*sic*) pe[ust] cheuaucher pour s'en aller hors du royaulme d' Engle[terre], dissant, que Il fust allé en quelque pelerinage ou [à la maison de son] perre, pour se faire garir; que ledit prieur luy bail[leroit] argent et cheval, et ne le fasoit ledt prieur cela, cy non de peur que ledit Bernart fust prins, et que Il eust reuelé . . . leur mouois voulloir & malice, au quel ledt Bernart fist responce, que y (*sic*) feroit se que Il luy cõmandoit, [mais] neantmoins qu'il estoit fort feible, et que desque I (*sic*) pour[roit] cheuaucher, que Il iroit voluntiers ou il luy cõman[doit] d'aller; et dura ladite malladie audt Bernart demp[uis] l'espace de demyan ou plus, par quoy ledt prieur le luy parlla dempuis de aller della la mer; [et] apres q̃ ledt Bernart fut guery, I (*sic*) de[manda] cõngie d'aller deuers ses parens, & de la ou Il [est] natiff, à intencion de faire avertir le Roy [de] ce que est cy desus dit, car Il n'ousoit [luy ser . . .], à sauoir, luy estant en Engleterre, de peur [que] ceulx qui ont conpillé ceste traison [ne luy] feissent desplesar de son corps; et à [ceste intencion] pourchassa son cõngie, disant, q̃ son fr[ere l'atendoit] à Dieppe, lequel luy auoit escript; & [pryoit ledit] Bernart ledt fr de [St] Jh̃n, que il luy [vouleist donner] cõngie, & surce ledt fr de St Jh̃n [fust content, vu que] Il luy promettoit de retourner [tout incontinant.]

Item au cõmencem̃t que Pierqin Warbec estoit en Flandres, fut par vng seruiter dudit seigner escript par plusseu[rs] foiz audit Seigner de Saint Jh̃n lectres, que ledit Bernart en partie a veus, non pas toutes, esquelles auoit cõtenu en parolles couuertes, cõme le Marchãt du Ruby ne pouuoit vendre sa marchandise audt pays de Flandres pour autant qu'il en demandoit, par quoy s'en alloit en la court du Roy des Romains, por voir s'il en pouroit plus trouuer; qui est à entendre, cõme dit ledt Bernart, que c'estoit Pierqin Warbec, qui ne pouuoit auoir secours en Flandres, sy grañt nũbre cõme y (*sic*) desiroit

po^{r} venir en Engleterre; le non dud^{t} seruiteur qui escripuoit les dessudites lectres est frere Guillemin de Noion.

Item estoit vng aultre marchañt en la ville de Bruges, qui est quatelan, nõmé Daniel Beauviure, qui dempuis q̃ ledit Pierqin retourna de devers le Roy de Romains en Flandres, ledit marchãt rescript aud^{t} sieur de S^{t} Jħn par plusseurs foiz, de quoy led^{t} Bernart n'a eu coñgnoissance que d'une lectre, en la quelle estoit cõtenu cõme led^{t} marchañt avoit dempuis naguerres de temps parlé aud^{t} frere Guillemin de Noion, et que led^{t} frere Guillemin luy auoit dit, que il auoit presque toute son argent prest à la sõme de ix ou diz mille frans, & que il manderoit aud^{t} seigne^{r} de S^{t} Jħn par banque, & le Marchant du Ruby iroit avecques.

Item au temps que le Roy estoit à Ourcestre, ledit Sieur [de] Saint Jħn estoit en la conté de Bethford, à vne place [de] la Religion de S^{t} Jħn, nõmée Milbourne, la [ou y (*sic*)] fist faire vng cetain (*sic*) nũbre [*de*] Jacquetes po^{r} [ses gens] de la faczon qui s'ensuit, de quoy le bas [estoit à] deux coulleurs, vert & rouge apliz, & au de[sus de] la sainture n'y auoit q̃ deux barres, l'une d[euant &] l'autre derriere, en escharpe, de la la[rgeur de quatre d]oiz, ou environ, & ce c'estoit po^{r} mectre [la Rose Rouge]; et pareillemẽt auoit fait faire vng corps tout [entier pour] chuñe Jacquecte, de pareille coulleur, & disoit [ledit sieur] q̃ chũn d'eulx le porteroit à l'arson de sa celle; [et] dit led^{t} Bernart, que ce n'estoit po^{r} aultre inten[cion] q̃ po^{r} y mectre vne Blanche Rose à chuñe Jacque[te].

Item vint vng Pietres, qui est seruite^{r} dudit Guillem[in de] Noion, qu'il enuoyet aud^{t} seigne^{r} de S^{t} Jħn [oue lectres], faignãt avertir le Roy de la [venuee] que entendoit [faire] Pierqin en Engleterre, le quel Pietres portoit lectres, [de] quoy le Roy n'eut alors la cõngnoissace (*sic*) de toutes, [ne] pareillemẽt le d^{t} Bernart; et dist ledit Pietres [aud^{t}] Bernart, que Il auoit vnnes lectres à Thomas Brand[on], lesquelles led^{t} Pietres luy dist, q̃ I (*sic*) n'osseroit les [deliur*er*] aud^{t} Brendon, de peur que I (*sic*) n'en eust quelque desplesir, & les deliura aud^{t} f^{r} de Saint Jħn, [affin] q̃ Il les baillast aud^{t} Brendon, & ne peut [le dit] Bernart congnoistre autre chose dud^{t} Pietres.

Item toutes les foiz que led^{t} S^{r} de Saint Jħn [auoit] lectres de Flandres, ou aucunes nouuelles, Il [alloit] ou enuoyet à l'euesque de Winchestre, à Jħn [Heusse], à sire Thomas Tirel, & à l'archediacre Heusse, & [leur donnoit] à congnoistre toutes nouuelles, & pareilleñt quant [les dessusd'] evesque & autres auoĩt nouuelles, Il (*sic*) luy fass[oint] sauoir, ou autremẽt le luy venoĩt dire.

Item ledit seigneur de Saint Jħn a esté par deux [ou] troys foiz, chũn an vne foiz, apres nouuel (*sic*) à la [maison] de sire Thomas Tirel, eulx deulx, de[uisant de] plusseurs choses, & entre les aultres cõmenza à dire [ledit] sieur de Saint Jħn coñt le Roy Eduard [auoit] autre[foiz] esté en ladite maison, au quel [ledit] sire Thomas respondit, que il estoit vray, [et que il] y auoit fait autresfoiz fait bonne cherre, [et que il] esperoit, au plesir Dieu, que le filz dud^{t} [Edouart] y feroit aussy bonne cherre, & que ladite [meson

auoit *estê*] faite de l'argent de France, & [que quelque jour il auoit] espoir d'engaigner de qu[oy en faire vne aultre aussy] belle; & estoit ledit [Bernart et S^r^ John] Thongc pressens q̃ [*quant*] les[dites parolles furent dites.]

Item le secretaire dud^t^ seigne^r^ de Saint Jh̃n, nõmé Wl̃m Outon, & vng seruite^r^ dud^t^ archediacre Heusse, nõmé Lilly, & vng aultre, qui se nõme Jh̃n Watre, lequel est seruite^r^ dud^t^ archediacre, lesquelx troys congnoissent tout la traison que lesd^s^ Sieurs ont entreprins de faire; led^t^ Lilly & led^t^ Jh̃n Watre cõgnoissẽt l'astrelogue qui a entreprins ceste traison, cra [*car ?*] ilz ont touz deulx demouré à Rõme; & doit le Roy faire garde, que Ilz ne sortent hors de son Royaullme. Fait à Rouan, le xiiij^e^ jour de mars, l'an mil iiij^cc^ iiij^xx^ xv.

De part moy BERNAD
DE VANHOLES.

Indorsed in a contemporary hand:
La confession de Bernart de Vignolles.

APPENDIX No. V.

Letter from King Henry VII. to Dr. Rodriguez Gonsales de Puebla, Envoy from the King and Queen of Spain.

[From the Original in the British Museum.]

Henricus Dei gr̃a rex Angliæ et Franc̃ ac dñs Hyb̃niæ. Clarissimo uiro Dño Roderico Gundisalui Sere^mo^ dño regis et reginæ Hyspaniar Oratori nr̃o q^a^plīmum dilecto sal et pspera īcremẽta. Legimus lr̃as ur̃as sextodc̃imo hui^o^ mẽsis London' datas, quib; ītellexim^o^ q^a^ntope iucũda fuerit uob noua de nr̃is successib;. Præftim de pkino et eius uxore: q̃ c̃te res nulla ī pte nos fefellit. Tot siquidem manifestis documẽtis sincerũ urũ; et optimũ ī nos aīmũ sumus expti: ut nullu; aliud iudiciũ de psona ur̃a fac̃e possimus, qua; de amicissimo nr̃o: et fælicissimi nr̃i status cupidissimo. Audiuimus tñ plibenter testatã ur̃a; litt̃is ur̃is mẽtem. Misimus istuc Vxorẽ pkini ad Ill^mam^ Dña; reginã nr̃a; cõsortem: Perkinũ quoq quem penes nos tenemus ī nr̃o reditu quem ppedie; fore putamus, nobcũ adducturi: quos uidere poteritis. Quod ũo ad Scotos attinet. Intelligimus legationem ad nos eẽ decretã: sed nõ talem nec tã honorificã qualem

a uobis audiūamus eē uĕturā. Intelleximus eniȝ ex dño Dunelmēse ꝑthonⁿⁱᵘȝ quēdā dūtaxat eē assignatū oratorē. Cæūum de bullæ illiᵒ nr̄æ tᵃnsūptis impressis et recapitulatione: ac publicatione eoꝝdm̄ fienda, Laudamus ꝑtimū maturū ur̄uȝ ea ī re cōsiliū: nihilo tñ minus ur̄am p'stātiā rogātes: ut ea oīa sic impressa trāsumpta penes se retineat, nᶜ quouis pacto publicet ante nr̄uȝ reditū: quoniā nobcū statuimus ut ipā pⁱus bulla diligenter et acurate denuo examinetur, ita q̄ etiaȝ ī ipīs tᵃnsūptis nullis d'fectus, nulla ue ꝑsus īcōgruitas, aut latini ſmonis uiciū deprehendi possit. Ex Ciuitate nr̄a Exoniæ, die xxiij. Octobr. Mᵒcccclxxxxvijᵒ. HENRICUS R.

Addressed: Clarissimo uiro Dño Roderico Gūdisalui doctori de Puebla Sereᵐᵒꝝ dñoꝝ regis et reginæ Hispaniaꝝ Oratori nr̄o q̄ᵖplīmum dilecto.

The seal is gone.

XIV. *Observations on three Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions found at Watermore, near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, in* 1835 *and* 1836. *By Dr.* CONRAD LEEMANS, *First Conservator of the Museum of Antiquities at Leyden.*

Read 11th May, 1837.

AMONG the Roman antiquities which have been discovered during the last two years in Great Britain, three sepulchral monuments found at Watermore, about half a mile on the south side of Cirencester, merit especially the attention of the Antiquaries, both on account of the Inscriptions which they present, and the locality where they were discovered.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1835, page 303, and in the number of the same journal for March 1836, p. 296, two of these inscriptions have been published, one with a translation and a few preliminary remarks, the other without any explanation. I felt particularly interested in the latter, as it refers to the early history of my own country; and thinking that, by entering a little further into the consideration of it, I may, perhaps, come to some conclusions which will merit the attention of the learned members of the Society of Antiquaries, I now venture to lay before them the following Paper, containing a few slight observations on the Monuments alluded to, and some others also found in Great Britain, and which seem to throw light on the first, or to be reciprocally explained by them.

I hope that my inquiry, defective as it is in many respects, may be regarded by the Society as an humble proof of my gratitude, for their kindness in admitting me, during my different periods of residence in London, to their interesting meetings, and I shall feel very happy if, by drawing the attention of its learned members to the subject of my paper, I see my own opinions corrected or confirmed by their observations and better judgment.

The kindness of a dear friend, who received from the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine drawings of the Watermore monuments, and who favoured me with accurate copies of them, while it rendered my task more easy, enables me also now to lay before the Society some sketches, by which my description will be more easily understood. (See Plate XIV.)

Monument I.

According to the description given in the Gentleman's Magazine for September 1835, p. 303, the first of these monuments is seven feet high and two and a half wide, and was discovered close to the Irmine street-way, lying in a horizontal position about two feet and a half below the surface of the earth. It exhibits, in very high relief, the figure of a warrior on horseback spearing a prostrate figure. It is without any further ornament.

The inscription is as follows:

DANNICVS. EQES. ALAE
INDIAN. TVR. ALBANI
STIP. XVI. CIVES. RAVR.
CVR. FVLVIVS. NATALIS. IL
FLAVIVS. BITVCVS. ER. TESTAME.
H. S. E.

" Dannicus eques alae Indianae, turmae Albani, stipendiorum sedecim, civis Rauricus. Curaverunt Fulvius Natalis, il (*lege* et?) Flavius Bitucus, heredes testamentarii. Hic situs est." *i. e.* " Dannicus, a horseman of the Indian wing, of the troop of Albanus, who has served sixteen years, a citizen of Rauricum. By the care of Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus, the heirs of his last will. He is buried here."

Though the reading of the first name D. ANNICVS, or Decius Annicus,[a] as proposed in the Gentleman's Magazine, might be perhaps deemed plausible, still the absence of the point between the two first letters, which moreover stand so close to each other as not to admit separation, (the names of the heirs

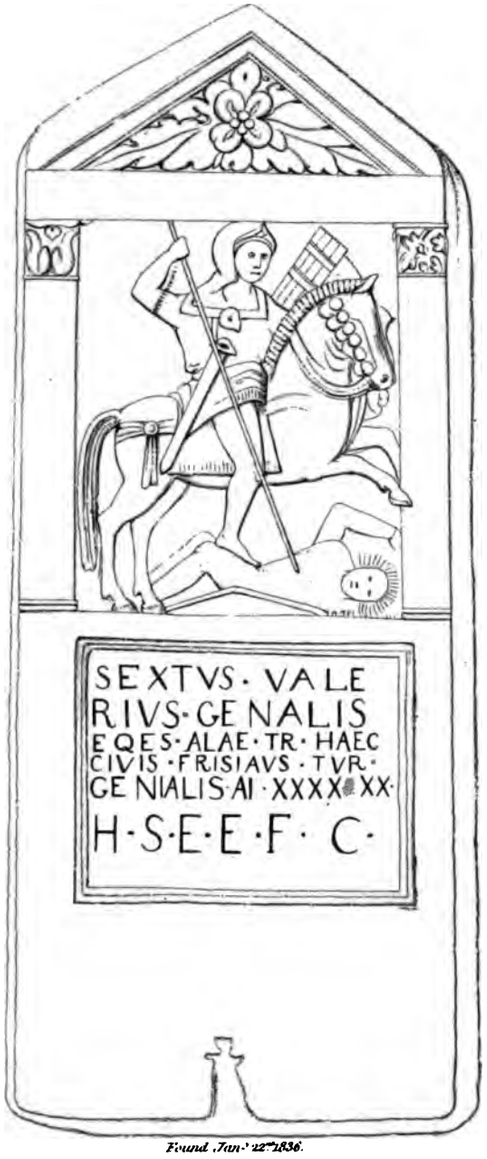
[a] The names of *C. Annicius Campestris, Eros, Festus,* and *Processianus*, occur on an inscription found at Rome. See Gruteri *Corp. Inscript.* p. CMXXXI. 6, and that of *Annicus* is on an inscription, ibid. p. DCCLXIV. 4.

1



Found June 15th 1835

2



Found Jan.y 22nd 1836.

3



Found July 1st 1836

Sepulchral Inscriptions found at Watermore near Cirencester in 1835 and 1836.

being written without abbreviation,) render it more probable that we are to read DANNICUS, which is supported by the circumstance that the Germans and Gauls often had only one name, even under the dominion of the Romans. In an inscription found at Naples[b] are mentioned the names of *Rhenus, Danuvius*, and *Euphrates*; on another found near Maintz, *Pistillus, Quintus, Marianus, Bellicus*;[c] *Peregrinus* and *Secundus* on an altar found at Bath;[d] *Amandus* (?) on another found at Binchester;[e] *Aleimachus, Decius, Montanus*, on an inscription found in the via Aurelia;[f] *Bassus*;[g] *Hilarus*;[h] *Amicus ve* (i. e. *Vaenoni)* filius;[i] and in the third of the inscriptions found at Watermore occurs the name of *Philus the Sequanian.*

I do not, however, find the same name of *Dannicus* mentioned on any other monument. *C. Dannius* occurs on an inscription published by Muratori;[k] *Danicius Alpinus*;[l] *Cn. Danius Minuso*;[m] and *Dannus Mari filius* in one of Gruter's inscriptions found at Nimes.[n]

The *ala Indiana*, or the Indian wing of auxiliary horsemen, is mentioned in an inscription found near Cologne;[o] on another occurs the name of *M. Ulpius Sporus*, physician of the same *ala*,[p] as well as on one found at Fossombrone,[q] and on another found at Maintz;[r] to which may be added a fifth, to the memory of *Argiotalus the son of Smertulitanus* from Nantes, who was a horseman of the same wing.[s] The Watermore inscription gives us the name of one of the troops or *turmæ* into which the *ala Indiana* was divided, with which we have not been hitherto acquainted; another, viz. that of the *turma Balbi* being mentioned in the inscription just quoted, found near Cologne.

[b] Gruter. p. MCXXV. 1. [c] Ibid. p. CXXX. 9. Orellii *Inscript. Lat. Sel.* no. 2776.
[d] Camden's *Britannia*, Lond. 1789. vol. i. pl. 7, fig. 10.
[e] Lysons's *Reliquiae-Britannico Romanae*, vol. i. pl. 12.
[f] Muratori, *Nov. Thes. Inscript.* Mediol. 1740, p. DXXIII. 5. Orell. n. 3538.
[g] Orell. ibid. 174. [h] Orell. ibid. n. 175. [i] Gruter. p. DCCLXIV. 4.
[k] Muratori, p. DXL. 1. [l] Murat. p. MDCCLXXVIII. 3.
[m] Murat. p. MDXXXIV. 4. [n] Gruter, p. CMXXII. 12.
[o] Gruter. op. cit. p. DXIX. 7. Schannat. *Eiflia Illustrata*, i. p. 548. Orell. op. cit. p. 192. Muratori, p. DCCLXXVII. 1.
[p] Orell. n. 3507. Muratori, p. MXLVI. 5.
[q] Maffei, *Osserv. Lett.* v. p. 198. Grut. p. CCCCXVII. 6. Orell. n. 4039.
[r] Grut. p. DXLI. 7. [s] Orell. op. cit. n. 188.

The Rauraci were a people of Gallia, which, like their neighbours the Sequani, were brought into subjection by Cæsar. The monument was erected by *Fulvius Natalis* and *Flavius Bitucus*. I am of the opinion that the particle ET between these two names, was justly substituted by the correspondent of the Magazine, for the letters IP, or IL, as they occur on two different copies of the monument. But it might also, perhaps, be conjectured, that instead of the words *et Flavius*, we should read *Illyrius Bitucus*, an idea which was suggested to me by the beginning of the fifth line being indistinctly indicated on my copy. The name *Illyrius* occurs in an inscription published by Muratori.[t] *Bitucus* may be the same as *Bituccus*.[u]

The expressions *Heres testamentarius curavit*, *Heredes testamentarii*, *Heredes ex testamento curaverunt*, are common on sepulchral monuments, as it was very often made the condition, by which the heirs of the testator obtained the possession of his goods.[x] The Emperor Antoninus deemed it necessary to order that the will of a soldier, with respect to the erection of a monument after his death, should be duly observed by the father and mother, being his heirs.[y] The omission of the V in EQAES, and of the H before ERES, in this as well as in the following inscription, may be explained by the circumstance of the place where the inscription was found, and the little care, which we may presume was exercised concerning a monument erected at such a distance from Rome, to the memory of a person of inferior rank; the heirs themselves probably belonging to one of the barbarous nations subdued by the Romans, and as yet imperfectly acquainted with the language of their conquerors. Besides which, examples of the same omissions are frequent.

I am disposed to believe that the skeleton lying upon an urn of dark-coloured pottery, near the head of the stone, was that of Dannicus; the others found near the spot may either have been those of Germans or Gauls, who served in the Roman army, or those of the contemporary inhabitants of the country. The body of a Roman probably would have been burnt, at the period to which these inscriptions seem to belong. On the contrary, it is not at all

t Page CMLVII. 5. u Muratori, p. MCCCXIV. 5. Gruter, DCLXXIII. 1.

x L. 18. s. 2. Pandect. *Fam. Ereisc.*; l. 44, Pand. *de hered. Inst.*; f. 10. Pand. *de Reb. dub.*; and l. 26. Pand. *de condit. et demonstr.*

y l. 5. Cod. *de Religios.*

uncommon to find the whole skeleton of a German or Gaul, whether buried in a tomb, or deposited with the head and arms resting on stones. The cast of such a skeleton was last year laid before the Society of Antiquaries. It was found at Arentsburgh (the presumed *Forum Hadriani*) near to the Hague in the Netherlands, where, under the direction of the late Professor, Dr. Reuvens, the Dutch Government some years ago made very interesting antiquarian researches. The Roman ornaments, fibulæ, rings, &c. found upon the bones, prove that the inhabitants of the Northern countries assumed in great measure the customs of the Romans. For other skeletons found in England, the *Nenia Britannica*[z] may be consulted with advantage, and for those found in the old German tumuli, Klemm's *Handb. der German Alterthumsk.*

Monument II.

According to the sketches with which I was favoured, this monument is in a better state of preservation than that just described; even the trappings of the horse, and the whole military dress of its rider, the form of his helmet, &c. are very well expressed. The inscription is as follows:

SEXTVS. VALE
RIVS. GENALIS
EQES. ALAE TR. HAEC.
CIVIS. FRISIAVS. TVR.
GENIALIS .AI .XXXX. . .XX.
H. S. E. E. F. C.

Which I read: "Sextus Valerius Genialis, eques alæ Thracum (or Thracum Herculaniæ (?), civis Frisiaus *(for* Frisius), turmæ Genialis. Annos [vixit] quadraginta, [militavit] viginti. Hic situs est; heres fieri curavit." *i. e.* "Sextus Valerius Genialis, a horseman of the Thracian or Herculania Thracian wing, a citizen of Frisia, of the troop (or the squadron) of Genialis. He lived forty years, and served twenty. He is buried here. His heir erected [this monument]."

[z] *Nenia Britannica*, or a Sepulchral History of Great Britain, by the Rev. James Douglas. Lond. 1793, in fol. pl. 1, 3, 14, 29.

The propriety of inserting the I in GENALIS,[a] the V in EQVES, and the substitution of N for I in AI (ANNOS) may be considered as certain; but the third line of the inscription contains an error, which seems to require some further discussion, as it yields no sense at all in its present state.

The *ala III Thracum* occurs very often in inscriptions; for instance, on one found at Rome;[b] on another at Tarracone;[c] the latter of which needs to be referred to in more than one respect. It runs as follows: M. VALER. M. F. GAL. &c. PRAEF. ALAE III. T. IRACVM. IN. SYR. "Marco Valerio, Marci filio Gallo, præfecto alæ tertiæ Thracum in Syria;" "To Marcus Valerius from Gallia, commander of the third Thracian wing in Syria." We have here a native of Gallia also named *Valerius*, and commanding a similar wing to that in the Watermore inscription; but the circumstance of this troop having been stationed in Syria, seems to forbid the notion that it is identical with that mentioned in the inscription before us.[d] As for the reading THRACVM HERCULANIAE, it might perhaps be recommended by the similarity of the abbreviation of these words, with the characters on the stone;[e] but I should feel rather inclined to read THRAC. *Thracum*, as another sepulchral stone found in

[a] The name of *Genialis* very often occurs on inscriptions. See Muratori, p. MCCCXVII. 8; MCCCXXX. 4; Gruter, LXXX. 6; CCCXLV. 9; CDX. 10; DLVIII. 2; DCCXX. 3; DCCLXXIII. 1; DCCCVII. 13; DCCCLXXXVI. 12; CMLVI. 12; CMLXI. 5, 9. The three last were found at Narbonne. See also Orell. Inscr. 4476.

[b] Gruter. op. cit. CCCCXXXIII. 5.

[c] Gruter. CCCCXXXI. 1.

[d] In the wall of a Moorish castle, *Alcasaba*, at Malaga in Spain, there is an inscription, L(ucio) VALERIO, L(ucii) F(ilio) QVIR(iti) PROCVLO. PRAEFECTO. COHORT. IIII. THRACVM. SYRIACAE (Muratori, op. cit. MLVI. 4; Orell. vol. ii. n. 5040). This Valerius Proculus is probably the same who erected a monument to his brother at *Palaestrina*. See Gruter, DLXV. 2; C(ajo) VALERIO. L(ucii) F(ilio). QVIR(iti) FLORINO. PRAEF(ecto) COH(ortis) II. THRAC(um). SYRIACAE. TRIB(uno). MIL(itari). LEG(ionis) VII. CLAVD(iae). PIAE. FID(elis) FRATRI. OPT(imo) B(ene) M(erenti) PROCVLVS. These second and fourth Thracian cohorts had the surname of SYRIACA, because they were stationed in that country. In the same manner, in an inscription of Gruter's, p. CCCCLXXXII. 8, the *second cohort of the Gauls* (COH. II. GALLORVM.) is surnamed *Macedonica*, to distinguish it from the *Coh. ii. Gallorum equitata*, which was stationed in Britain. See the Inscriptions in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 275. Cumberl. n. LII. & praef. p. XX. Cumberl. n. LII. a.

[e] The *ala Thracum Herculania* occurs in an inscription upon the base of a statue found at *Vaison* in France. See Gruter, p. MXC. 21.

Shropshire, mentions a horseman of the *cohors Thracum*. See Camden's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 413.

In Muratori, p. DCCXCVII. 7, we have another instance of a soldier bearing the same name as the *turma* in which he served, "*Titus Aurelius of the troop of Aurelius.*"

The termination FRISIAVS, presents us with a variety in the orthography of this word, in the inscriptions. If it was not meant for FRISIVS or FRISIEVS, it is formed like BATAVVS, or BATAVS, which latter word occurs on a sepulchral stone found in the via Aurelia.[f] We shall have occasion to return to this subject afterwards.

The *turma Genialis* of the *Thracian wing* has not yet been found among those mentioned upon monuments.

The inquiry which has been sustained by the letter or letters immediately following the age of the deceased, makes it a little uncertain whether we are to read M or D; the latter would add *twenty days* to the forty years of Sextus Valerius; but I feel inclined to prefer the former reading; the years of a soldier's service being commonly mentioned on his sepulchral monument, and the number here mentioned agreeing very well with the age at which the Romans began military service. We shall see hereafter an example of this formular. On our first inscription it was indicated by the *Stipendia*.

The last line needs no further explication.

MONUMENT III.

The third of these interesting objects, found near the same spot as the others on the 1st July 1836, is also a sepulchral monument of the same size as the preceding; but on the bas relief is represented an upright figure of a man dressed in a mantle, which hangs down to his feet, and having on his head a sort of pileus. The ornaments on the top of the monument are not inelegant, and the pilasters on each side of the standing figure, are tolerably well executed. The inscription, in which the distinction of the different words is not so well observed as on the two preceding monuments, is as follows:

[f] Fabretti, Inscript. p. 687. 98. Muratori, DXXIII. 5. Orell. n. 3538.

PHILVS. CA
SSAVI. FILI.
CIVIS. S.EQV.
ANN. XXXXV.
H . SE

" Philus Cassavi filius, civis Sequanus [vixit] annos quadraginta quinque. Hic sepultus est."—" Philus the son of Cassavus, a citizen of the Sequani, 45 years old, is buried here." The name of Philus is not very common on Roman inscriptions; it occurs however in Gruter's work, p. CCXCVII. col. i. Perhaps it might appear doubtful whether the following seven letters should not be separated, and read, CASS(ii) AVI(leti) FILI(us). The name of Cassius Abiletus (which may be regarded the same as Aviletus) or Cassius Abileius, occurs in Muratori's work,[g] and Gruter's Inscriptions.[h] In the first we find also Cassius Aulianus.[i] But the reading here adopted is more in accordance with what has been said above on the use of single names by the Germans and Gauls.

The Sequani lived in the vicinity of the Rauraci, near Switzerland, as is proved by different sepulchral inscriptions found at Lyons in France, at St. Pierre Mont-jou, in Switzerland, but chiefly by an inscription published by Gruter,[j] in which we read I(ulio). POPPILI(o). NAT(ione). SEQVANO. CIVI. LVGDVNENSI. The point after the first letter of *Sequanus* must obviously be transferred to the end of the word.

The person mentioned on this last of the Watermore monuments may have been a merchant, much commercial intercourse having existed from a very early period, between the Gauls and the Britons, and we may easily presume, that many inhabitants of that part of the continent followed the Roman army into Britain, after its settlement in that country. Poppilius the Sequanian, whose name we have just mentioned, is also styled a *negotiator* in his sepulchral inscription.

Hoping that I shall not trespass too much on the patience of the Society, I shall add a few observations on the inference to be deduced from the two first

[g] P. MDCLII. 13. [h] Gruter. p. CMVI. 2. [i] Murat. p. MMLXX. 9.
[j] Gruter. p. DCXLIX. 7.

of the Watermore inscriptions. As far as I am able to ascertain, no ancient author speaks either of the *Sequani*, or of the Frisii, as having assisted the Romans in their attempts to subdue the island, which by the strength of its natural situation, no less than by the bravery of its inhabitants, was one of the most arduous and difficult tasks the conquerors of the world ever undertook. Cæsar's expeditions against the Britons, though his usual fortune did not wholly desert him, far from subjugating them under the dominion of the Romans, only served to convince the latter, that it would be hardly possible for them even to obtain a footing in the island, by the same exertions which rendered the Germans and the Gauls, either a vanquished people, or auxiliaries and allies to the Roman Empire. Cn. Julius Agricola was the first who succeeded in pushing the conquests of the Roman army so far as the northern part of Britain, and in rendering his people at least for some time and in a surer manner, masters of almost the greatest part of the country. In the account of one of the different battles which were fought by that general, Tacitus (Vita Agricolæ, cap. 36,[k]) relates, "that the enemy could not be repulsed before Agricola attacked them with three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts, which by their peculiar arms, and the manner in which they obliged him to come to close combat, succeeded in turning the balance of the day in favour of their allies."

The fact of Batavian troops having accompanied the Romans into Britain, even if it were not ascertained, by the passages in Tacitus alluded to, would be fully confirmed by a most interesting inscription, and perhaps the only one of the kind, found at Walwick in Northumberland, and published in the Philosophical Transactions.[l]

[k] "Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simul constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere: donec Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucronem ac manus adducerent, quod et ipsis vetustate militiæ exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arcto pugnam non tolerabant." Add. Tacitus, Hist. iv. 12. "Batavi —— diu Germanicis bellis exerciti, mox aucta per Britanniam gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant."

[l] Philos. Transact. vol. xix. p. 661. Camden's Britannia, iii. pl. 19. p. 246. Muratori, op. cit. LXXXI. 3.

FORTVNAE
COH . I . BATAVOR.
CVI. PRAEEST.
MALACCIVS. MARCELLVS. PRAE.

This inscription proves that the first cohort of Batavian troops, under the command of Malaccius Marcellus, dedicated an altar to Fortune; and the monument is still more valuable, since we do not find, as far as I have been able to ascertain, even in the country of the *Batavi* themselves, any monuments making mention of their cohorts, or their army. The inscription in the Leyden Museum, in which the Batavi are called *amici et fratres Romani imperii*, is apparently spurious. The genuineness of another, to the memory of Soranus the Batavian, found on the bank of the Danube, is extremely doubtful.[m] There exists a third stone found in Portugal,[n] but it contains only the name of an individual; and a fourth, found at Rome,[o] mentions a native of the Batavian people as having served in one of the Roman cohorts. The only one, which was discovered in the Netherlands, and of the genuineness of which no doubt can be entertained, is a dedication of *Flavius Vihtirmatis filius, summus magistratus civitatis Batavorum*, to *Hercules Magusanus*, a divinity to whom more inscriptions in the same country refer.[p] Though the unique inscription found at Walwick does not establish the fact beyond the possibility of contradiction, still the absence of any similar monument in any other country, seems to lead us to the conclusion that the Batavian troops remained for a long time in England; a conclusion which, besides being confirmed by the passages in Tacitus, is in accordance with the well-known policy of the Romans, who did not think it safe to allow their allies and above all those, who by their valour were ranked among their most formidable opposers, to perform military service in their own native country. This last observation furnishes us with a sufficient explanation of the total absence of any military remains of the Batavi in their own country.

With regard to the Tungrian cohorts, the same observation may be made; at least, I am not aware of any mention of the troops of this nation on inscriptions found on the continent. Gruter[q] has published one existing at Rome, but it

[m] Gruter. DLXII. 3. [n] Ibid. p. c. 9. [o] Orell. op. cit. n. 4476.
[p] Cuper. Mon. Antiq. p. 218. [q] Gruter. op. cit. CCCXXXIV. 3.

bears only the name of one of the *Tungri*, who died a veteran in the Roman army; and in Muratori[r] we have the name of Titus Popilius, among whose titles is that of *Commander of the first Tungrian wing*. On the contrary, the military remains of this people in Great Britain are comparatively very numerous. *The first Tungrian cohort* dedicated an altar to Jupiter in Cumberland,[s] and another to Hercules in Northumberland;[t] two others to Jupiter;[u] a fifth consecrated to the same god was found at Housesteads in Northumberland:[x] also one to the *Deæ matres;* and *Quintus Florius Maternus*, the commander of the same cohort, dedicated an altar to Mars.[y] The *Tungrian* cohort is mentioned in an eighth inscription found in the Roman wall near *Castle Cary* (*Curia Damniorum*).[z] Other nations from the neighbours of the three before-mentioned (viz. the *Frisii*, the *Batavi*, and the *Tungri*) are proved by monuments to have participated in the expeditions of the Romans against the Britons; among these may be enumerated a native of Trèves, who consecrated an altar to different divinities at Bath;[a] a Belgian, whose sepulchral stone was discovered in the same place.[b] Perhaps the fragment of an inscription to *Mars Camulus*, found on an altar in Stirlingshire,[c] belongs also to a native of the same vicinity; for there exists at Cleves on the Schwanethurm, an altar found at Rynderen, about two miles from Cleves, dedicated to the same god by the *cives Remi*. Finally, we find that *Marcus Censorinus Marci filius, Vontinia Rhenanus* dedicated an altar to Jupiter in Cumberland.[d]

Of the inhabitants of Rauricum I have not been able to find a second monument among those existing in England, but in Monmouthshire there was discovered a sepulchral inscription of a citizen of *Lyons* named Valerius, who served in the Roman galley *Victoria*, and was a standard-bearer of the second legion of Augustus.[e] This inscription seems to claim notice in this place, be-

r Muratori, op. cit. DCCCXLIV. 9.
s Camden's Brit. vol. iii. p. 8, fig. 8, p. 176.
t Ibid. vol. iii. pl. 17, fig. 4. p. 245.
u Ibid. pl. 17, fig. 1, 2, 9 & 10, p. 245.
x Ibid. vol. iii. pl. 18, p. 245. Orell. op. cit. 3399.
y Ibid. pl. 18, fig. 3 & 5.
z Roy, Milit. Antiq. of the Rom. in Great Brit. Lond. 1795, p. 200.
a Camden's Britan. i. pl. 7, fig. 10, p. 79.
b Ibid. vol. i. pl. 7, p. 79. Orell. n. 4079.
c Ibid. vol. iii. pl. 25, fig. 6, p. 359.
d Ibid. vol. iii. pl. 9, fig. 5, p. 185.
e Ibid. vol. ii. pl. 15, p. 490.

cause the Lugdunenses and the Raurici dwelt in the same neighbourhood.

I hope I may be allowed to add a few words concerning the monuments of the Frisian nation of the time of the Romans, as this question is in some degree connected with that of the period to which the Watermore inscriptions probably should be referred.

Among the inscriptions published in different epigraphical and other antiquarian books, I have met with six which make mention of Frisian individuals; to which, since the discoveries near Cirencester, a seventh has been added. It may not perhaps be improper to bring them together in this place, principally because they almost all exhibit a different orthography of the name of that nation:

(1.)[f]

DIS . MAN.
L. IVLIO.VOGVSIO
NATONE. FRIS.
FECIT. NAEVIA. FORTVNIA.
CONIVGI. INCOMPARABILI.
CVM. QVO VIX. AN. XIX.

"Diis Manibus. Lucio Julio Vogusio, natione Frisio, fecit Naevia Fortunia conjugi incomparabili, cum quo vixit annos novemdecim."

There might perhaps be reason to doubt the genuineness of this inscription, the left side of it, where the word FRIS. occurs, being restored; but the following inscriptions may be regarded as more interesting:

(2.)[g]

BASSUS. NERONIS
CAESARIS. CORPORE
CVSTOS . NATIONE
FRISIVS. VIXIT
AN. XL.

"Bassus Neronis Cæsaris corpore custos, natione Frisius. Vixit annos

[f] On a sepulchral urn of marble in the *Leyden Museum of Antiquities*, brought over from Italy by *de Wit*. Oudendorp, *Descr. Leg. Papenbr.* p. 15, n. 14. Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* 650, 1. Orell. op. cit. n. 171. [g] Found at *Rome*. Gruter. op. cit. p. DC. 12. Orell. n. 174.

quadraginti."—" Bassus, a body-guard of the Emperor Nero, a Frisian, forty years old."

(3.)[h]

HILARVS
NERONIS. CAESARIS
CORPORE. CVSTOS
NATIONE. FRISAEO
VIX. A. XXXIII.

" Hilarus Neronis Cæsaris corpore custos, natione Frisævone (?) vixit annos triginta tres."—" Hilarus, a body-guard of the Emperor Nero, a Frisian, aged thirty-three years."

(4.)[i]

D.M.
AVR. VERO. EQ. SING. AVG.
NAT. FRISEO.
T. AEL. GEMINI.
VIXIT. ANN. XXX.
ML. ANN. XIII
AVR. MOESICVS. HER
A. O. F. C.

" Diis Manibus. Aurelio Vero, equitum singularium[k] Augusti, natione Frisio, Titi Aelii Gemini [filio]. Vixit annos triginta, militavit annos tredecim. Aurelius Moesicus heres amico optimo fieri curavit."—" To the memory of Aurelius Verus, one of the lifeguard of the Emperor, a Frisian, the son of Titus Ælius Geminus; he lived thirty years, and served during thirteen years. Aurelius Moesicus, his heir, has erected this to his dearest friend."

[h] Found at *Interamna*. Gruter. p. DC. 13. Orell. n. 175.

[i] Found at *Rome*. Gruter. op. cit. p. DXXXII. 6. Orell. n. 172.

[k] The *Equites Singulares* followed in rank upon the *Praetoriani*, and were used as lifeguards. See Hygini *Gromat.* p. 4 & 8. Fabretti, *Inscr. Antiq. Explic.* Rom. 1699, p. 354.

(5.)[l]

D. M.
T. FL. VERINO
NAT. FRISAEVONE
VIX . AN. XX. M. VII.
T. FL. VICTOR
EQ. SING. AVG. FRATRI
DVLCISSIMO
F. C.

"Diis Manibus. Tito Flavio Verino, natione Frisævone. Vixit annos viginti, menses septem. Titus Flavius Victor, equitum singularium Augusti, fratri dulcissimo fieri curavit."—"To the memory of Titus Flavius Verinus, a Frisian. He lived twenty years and seven months. Titus Flavius Victor, one of the lifeguard of the Emperor, has erected (this) to his dearest brother."

(6.)[m]

MANDVS
EX C. FRIS
VINOVIE
V. S. L. M.

"Amandus ex civitate Frisiorum Vinoviæ votum solvit libens merito."—"Amandus, a citizen of Frisia, hath gratefully discharged his vow to Vinovia."

The different orthography of the name of the people in question, occurring on these monuments, may be all reduced to two; viz. *Frisius, i*,[n] and *Frisuevo, ones*,[o] the latter being terminated in the same manner as the name of *Ingaevones* and *Istaevones* mentioned by Tacitus in his Germania.[p] The reading of the sixth inscription may appear doubtful, the upper part of the monument being lost, and the abbreviation c for *civitate* not being common. But the reading of the name *Amandus* receives some confirmation from the mention

[l] Found at Rome. Gruter. op. cit. p. DXXXII. 7. Orell. op. cit. n. 173.

[m] On a fragment of an altar found at Binchester in the Bishoprick of Durham. See Lysons's Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, vol. i. pl. xii.

[n] Inscr. 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7. [o] Inscr. 3 and 5. [p] Cap. 2.

of the *turma Amandi* on an inscription in Muratori;[q] and the phrase *ex c. fris.* may be compared with a similar one in an inscription published by Orelli,[r] on which we have a C. TABELLARIVS. C[ivitatis] SEQVANORVM. *Vinovia* is the ancient name of the place where the altar was discovered, and *Amandus* seems to have dedicated the monument to the goddess Vinovia, a personification of the place of the same name. In Roy's *Military Antiquities*[s] occurs an inscription of another altar found at the station of *Achindavy*, on *Grime's Dyke*, which states that *Marcus Cocceius Firmus*, of *the second legion of Augustus*, dedicated the monument to the *Genius terræ Britannicæ*. Another similar dedication was found at *Luxçu* in *Franche Comté* (the ancient Luxovium in Sequanis).

LVXOVIO. ET. BRIXIAE. C. IVL.
FIRMAN. IVSSV.
V. S. L. M.[t]

According to Tacitus,[u] the Frisians were subdued by Corbulo about 50 years A.C., and probably from that period they partook in all the most interesting expeditions of their conquerors, who so relied on the fidelity of those allies, that Nero selected them for his bodyguard, as we learn from the second and the third inscription. It may be presumed that many of them went over to Britain, and served under the command of *Agricola*, but they seem not to have constituted a separate wing or cohort of the Roman army in that country. Sextus Valerius was a horseman of the Thracian wing; the horsemen mentioned in the fourth and the fifth inscription served at Rome as *equites singulares*, or lifeguards, apparently in the time of the Emperor Aurelius.

With regard to the period to which the Watermore inscriptions belong, I believe we may fix it between the expeditions of *Agricola*, and the reign of *Aurelius* and his first successors; a conjecture to which the shape of the letters, as they appear in my copies, compared with others of the same time, seems to offer no obstacle.

[q] Murat. op. cit. p. DCCCLVII. 8. [r] Orelli op. cit. n. 230. [s] Roy, Mil. Ant. pl. 38. fig. 2.
[t] Caylus, Recueil, &c. iii. p. 366. Orell. op. cit. n. 2024.
[u] Tacitus, Annal. xi. 19.

The sepulchral stones of horsemen of the Roman allies found in Shropshire,[x] and at Bath,[y] also representing a knight on horseback spearing a prostrate figure, may belong to the beginning of the same period.

The situation of Cirencester seems to correspond with that of the *Corinium* of *Ptolemaeus* and the *Anonymus Ravennas*, and the *Duroconovium* of Antoninus, and must have been one of the principal stations of the Romans in that part of the country, as three Roman roads meet near the spot, and a great number of antiquities have been discovered in its vicinity. Camden[z] mentions tesselated pavements, hypocausts, a statue, a gold ring, different coins of Antoninus, Diocletianus, and Constantinus; a large stone coffin on the side of the road leading to *Tettleton*, with a skeleton in it, with the skull between the legs, and a sword on its right side (perhaps of a later time), &c. The inscriptions previously found in the same place are the following:

D. M.
IVLIAE. CASTAE
CONIVGI. VIX.
ANN. XXXIII.

"Diis Manibus. Juliae Castae conjugi. Vixit annos triginta tres;" and

D. M.
P. VICANAE
P. VITALIS
CONIVX

"Diis Manibus. Publiae Vicanae Publius Vitalis conjux."

From the three monuments lately found at Watermore, and which have been the principal subjects of the preceding paper, the following conclusions may be deduced:

1. They give us the information that the Rauraci and Frisii followed the Roman army into Britain; a circumstance which is not expressly mentioned by the ancient authors; probably because, as neither the Rauraci nor the Frisii formed a separate cohort, or a distinct portion of the army, individuals

[x] Camden's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 413.

[y] Ibid. i. pl. 7, fig. 11, p. 79. Lysons' *Reliq. Britann. Rom.* vol. i. pl. 12. Archæologia, vol. x. pl. xiv.

[z] Camden, op. cit. i. p. 279, seq.

of these and the other nations we have had occasion to mention in discussing the inscriptions, were enlisted in the different wings of the Roman allies.

2. We learn from the third monument, that the communication between the Gauls and the Britons, which existed before the expedition of Cæsar into Britain, was not discontinued after the occupation of the greatest part of the island by the Romans, but that the commercial intercourse between the two countries even increased after that period; for a number of individuals then established themselves in the Roman camps and other military stations, either for the purpose of supplying the soldiers with provisions and other necessaries, or of taking advantage of the more constant and easy communication opened at every military establishment, which at the same time might be regarded in the light of an extensive market.[a]

3. It is rendered probable that the *Indian wing*, which had been stationed for a considerable period in Gaul, also passed over into Great Britain; and from the second monument we may conclude that a *Thracian wing* likewise served in this country.

4. It is of some importance for the knowledge of the military antiquities of the Romans, to be acquainted with the names of the different *turmæ*, or *squadrons*, into which the *wings* were divided; from the first monument we learn that the Indian wing had, besides the *turma Balbi*, also a *turma Albani*. And the second monument presents the name of the *turma Genialis* of the *Thracian wing*.

5. Finally, we obtain fresh confirmation that the spot where these monuments and many others have been discovered, is to be ranked among the most important of the Roman stations in this country; and I think it would be highly desirable that, under proper direction, regular scientific excavations should be instituted in that place; for they would undoubtedly lead to discoveries, which would throw new light on the early state of this country, and furnish many interesting hints for its history during the time of the Romans. Such researches would at the same time prevent ancient monuments, when brought to light, from being dispersed into private collections, where they

[a] Hence the names of *Forum Claudii, Hadriani, Julii, Neronis, Trajani*, and many others.

are often regarded more as objects of curiosity, than as subjects for useful consideration and study, and where, to say the least, they possess far less interest than when deposited in a public museum; for it is only in such a place that monuments can be compared with others of a similar kind, and be constantly exposed to the eyes of persons who make such matters the particular objects of their scientific researches.

XV. *The Kiss of the Virgin: a Narrative of Researches made in Germany, during the years* 1832 *and* 1834, *for the purpose of ascertaining the mode of inflicting that ancient punishment, and of proving the often denied and generally disputed fact of its existence; by* R. L. Pearsall, *of Willsbridge, Esq. in a Letter addressed to the Rev.* H. T. Ellacombe, *F.S.A. Vicar of Bitton in Gloucestershire.*

Read 12th January, 1837.

EVERY thing involved in mystery carries with it a certain degree of interest, especially when connected with the history of the past; and there are few things more deeply so involved, and more calculated to show the worthlessness of criminal tribunals under irresponsible authority, than the singular judicial enormity commemorated in the following pages.

In England we have been barbarous enough, cruel enough, and bad enough during the early part of our history; but, thanks to the publicity of our judicial proceedings, those who fell under the hands of the executioner, perished before the eyes of the world, in a mode prescribed by the law, and obliged to be followed by its officers.

This was not the case in other countries. Wherever there was a despotic monarch, or an irresponsible corporation endowed with an unlimited criminal jurisdiction, men were accused, imprisoned, and never more heard of. Their probable fate could only be guessed from circumstances, or some unguarded expression from the lips of such as were likely to be aware of it; but their possible fate was not so much a secret. "*Let fear come to all*" has been a common maxim amongst penal legislators; and in order that fear *might* come to all, under the governments of ancient continental Europe, they did not

hesitate to insinuate darkly the means which they had of proving and punishing crime whenever a man might be accused of it.

Notwithstanding this, it was seldom or never the case that men knew what torture or death might be in store for them, if they rendered themselves liable to the suspicions of their magistrates.

"*Passer par les oubliettes*" was a well-known phrase in France; and yet few were able to define its meaning accurately. Every one, however, understood that where a man was considered by the tribunals to be guilty of certain crimes, he was doomed to pass, as it were, into oblivion by descending, through trap doors called oubliettes, into the nether regions of his prison, from which he never returned.

"*The Kiss of the Virgin*" (or *Jungfern-kuss)* was an equally well-known phrase in Germany, and its import was almost as little understood. A general impression, however, reigned amongst the multitude, that, in certain towers and prisons, there was a terrible engine, which not only destroyed life, but also annihilated the body of the person sacrificed; and this, from being constructed in the form of a young girl, was called "*the Virgin!*"

During a residence in Germany, some years ago, chance threw me in the way of hearing much of this engine, without being able clearly to understand what it was, excepting that it exercised the functions of executioner in the form of the Virgin Mary, and exterminated its victims by hugging them in arms furnished with iron blades. Thus they were soon deprived of life. It was said to have existed in many towns and castles, and even convents; but more particularly in those secret tribunals which were so numerous in Germany during the middle ages, and which are frequently given the credit of having first employed its services.

The castle of Koenigstein near Frankfort is said to have possessed one of these instruments of destruction, and a tower in the town-wall of Mayence, situated near the butchery, is pointed out as having been the seat of another.

I examined both these buildings in hope of finding some vestige which might give me an idea of the form of the machine and mode of its operation, but in vain. I examined other buildings in the Rhine-land, where it was said to have existed, and with as little success, until at last I began to think that I must have been listening to a fable. Many things served to support this

idea. In the first place, I could obtain no references to chronicles or documents in which its existence was vouched for; and whenever I asked where I was likely to discover any traces of it, I was almost always referred to the castles of the Robber-Chivalry of Germany: a class of people who were generally too poor to purchase a machine so expensive as this must have been, and whose criminal justice or vengeance, call it which you will, was likely to have been administered in a much more simple and unmysterious manner. Again, the accounts which I received both of its form and movements were often inconsistent. Some represented it to be an image of the Virgin Mary, which the culprit was told to kiss, and which, on being touched by him, was set in motion by inward machinery, which caused the figure to fall down and crush him. Others said that its arms expanded and clasped him to a breast out of which poniards protruded. Others again represented it merely as an emblem of *Justice*, placed above a trap-door, on which the culprit trod as he advanced to pay her his homage, and which, being left unbolted, sank underneath his weight, and precipitated him into an abyss. The tradition relative to the machine contained in the tower at Mayence, represented it to be a sort of hollow wheel, furnished in the inside with knives, which, on being made to turn round rapidly, cut to pieces anything that might be in the inside. This last was a punishment reserved for persons of gentle blood convicted of high treason against the Elector, but persons of inferior birth were simply beheaded and thrown to the dogs.

It is true that one could not wonder at a total silence respecting it in the books of Criminal Jurisprudence of the Empire, for *they* related to punishments which justice openly acknowledged; while this machine was always represented to be the peculiar and appropriate minister of a *secret* tribunal, which, from its very nature, could not be governed by any public system of law; but the difficulty of obtaining evidence respecting it, and the contradictory and consequently unsatisfactory nature of the little that I did for some time obtain, made me begin to treat the stories which I had heard as the result of popular error. Added to this, I found almost all the members of the modern school of philosophy prepared to treat the thing as an old woman's tale; and one of them (to whom I was recommended as a man of great historical erudition, who had achieved his education at Paris, and was said to enjoy

the intimacy and esteem of the most distinguished philosophers there and elsewhere) told me that the whole affair was a mere monkish lie; that every possible instrument of death and torture was to be found in the Bastile; that when the people cleared it out at the Revolution, they found no Virgin; and that therefore it was fair to conclude that the thing had never existed but in the imagination of monks and romancers. I remember asking him whether any monk had really mentioned it in a written document. He replied in the affirmative; but stated that, as the monks wrote nothing but lies, he never suffered their stories to dwell on his mind sufficiently to enable him to refer to them a second time. I have stated thus much, at the risk of being tedious, merely to show with what facility we are often led to attribute to mistake and falsehood that which is nevertheless well founded in fact.

Discouraged as I was by the result of my inquiries, I could not altogether hold the thing to be utterly without basis. A grain of truth is often to be found in the most stupid superstitions, even in the most malignant calumnies; and, being loath to treat as mere idle rumour that which had been heard of by every German, and was believed by the great majority of the people, I was tempted to take a middle course, between belief and unbelief, and to conclude that the Virgin must have been the *Plank*, or German guillotine; and I mention this circumstance, because I have strong ground for believing that both instruments are often confounded in ancient traditions.[a]

[a] It is currently believed, by the mass of the French people, that the guillotine is a child of their Revolution; but it existed in Germany, Bohemia, Scotland, and Italy long before it was known in France as a means of public execution. In Germany it was called *der Planke* (i. e. the plank of wood), der Deile, *das Falbeil*. In Bohemia it was called *Hagec*, which must mean also something akin to plank, as the term is explained by the Latin word sylvula in Thomsa's Bohemian dictionary. In Italy it was known by the appellation *Mannagia*. This may possibly be the old way of spelling *Mannacia*, which means a large ugly hand, and may refer to the blade of the instrument being made somewhat in the form of a hand; or it may more probably be some old word coming from the Italian verb *Mangiare*, to eat, and signifying a machine that eat or bit off the heads of its victims.

In Scotland, however, it was called by a name much more germain to the matter before us, namely, "the Maiden."

As in all these nations there was no essential difference in the form of this instrument, and as the reader may be curious to know how it was anciently constructed, we may take the description of a most respectable eye-witness, who states the practice of guillotining criminals to have been

The conclusion which I had arrived at was, however, disturbed by a passage which I accidentally met with in a book entitled "Materialen zur Nürnbergerischen Geschichte herausgegeben von D. I. C. Siebenkees, Nürnberg 1792."

more ancient than that of beheading them with a sword. "In former times," says Crusius (Annales Sueviæ a. 1556-96), "decapitation was performed, not with a sword, but with a piece of oak or plank furnished with a sharp cutting iron edge. I myself (continues the author) have seen such an instrument in the old Hospital at Halle. When any one was to be beheaded, this machine was brought out. It looked like a Zwagstuhl (i. e. a washing seat); on each side were props, on the top of which was set up the plank, and at the end of this was a cutting-iron; as soon as the culprit was bound to the seat, just as if he was going to be washed, the executioner let fall the plank, which hung by a rope, and the iron beneath it struck off the poor sinner's head." The reason which caused decapitation with the sword to be preferred to the more sure operation of the plank does not appear; but probably it arose from ideas of economy, for we find in the "Lubeckische Verord," p. 431, that the executioner was paid one Rhenish florin for beheading with the sword, and two if he did his office with the plank. Having premised thus much, let me again call the reader's attention to the fact of the guillotine having been called in Scotland "the Maiden." (Vide Pennant's Tour, p. 363.) There, as well as in England, a man was said to "kiss the block" when he was beheaded; and although I have no authority for saying that a man was said to "kiss the Maiden" when he was guillotined, there can be no doubt that such a phrase would have been perfectly well understood to signify it, at least in Scotland, where the following popular saying is well known, "he that invented the Maiden first *hanselled* it," i. e. caressed it.

I am not aware that the machine in question was ever employed in England; but the rack there was called "the Duke of Exeter's *daughter*," and about the same time there was in the Tower of London an instrument of torture called "the Scavenger's daughter." (Vide Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, p. 157, and the authority there cited.) I think also that I have somewhere read of Guy Fawkes having been threatened with being made to kiss the Duke of Exeter's daughter. At any rate the phrase was very commonly used, and even at the present day would require no explanation amongst people of education.

Having shown that the kiss of the Maiden may be referable to the guillotine, let us see how the matter stood in Germany. There, *Hals-ringen* (to embrace by putting the arms round any one's neck) and *kussen* (to kiss with the lips) are used convertibly, one for the other, in common conversation; and, according to old representations of the German plank, the culprit's neck was put into a wooden collar, which kept it steady, and enabled the blade of the machine to do its office unfailingly. A sort of collar also called the Virgin appears to have been formerly placed as a punishment about the necks of prisoners. Dr. Lommel of Nuremberg told me in 1832, that this was the case at Wurtsberg, and that he remembered, when he was a boy, to have seen there part of a wooden image which was formerly hung round the necks of culprits as an instrument of torture. This was probably the Virgin, or *Jungfer*, which Adelung in his dictionary (voce Jungfer, 6, 7) defines to be a block, to which prisoners were fastened with smith's work, and which they were obliged to bear about with them in their arms wherever they went. Here, then, we have virgins

The passage in question is represented to have been extracted from a Chronicle (which the author has not indicated) and may be thus rendered in English: "In the year of our Lord 1533, the Iron Virgin was constructed, for the punishment of evil doers, within the wall of the Froschthurm (or Frogstower) opposite the place called *die Sieben Zeiler* (that is to say, the Seven Ropes); so, at least, it was publicly given out to justify the thing. Therein was an *iron* statue, *seven feet high*, which stretched abroad both its arms in the face of the criminal; and death by this machine was said to send the poor sinner to the fishes. For so soon as the executioner moved the step, on which it stood, it hewed, with broad hand swords, the criminal into little pieces, which were swallowed by fishes in hidden waters. Such secret tribunals," continues the author, by way of comment on the foregoing extract, "existed formerly in many countries. I do not, however, know whether any traces yet remain of the one here described, and I have never read that any use was ever made of it; perhaps the whole affair may be nothing more than a legend."

In May 1832 curiosity led me to Nuremberg; for I had a long time been desirous of visiting a city so celebrated for its antiquities.

embracing the necks of prisoners; but I have never been able to ascertain whether the wooden collar which formed part of the old plank was called *virgin*. If so, we should have a virgin forming part of that machine embracing her victim; and death by the plank might, by an extremely popular figure of speech, have been often called in Germany "the kiss of the Virgin." I cannot venture to assert positively that such was the case, but I have more than one reason for believing it to be highly probable. Dendermond in Flanders once belonged to Germany, and we find the following law was enforced there A.D. 1233, "quicunqne per vim *fœminam* violaverit, ei collum cum *assere* (vulgo *planke*) debet abscidi;" vide David Lindanus tr. de Tentermonda (art. 20). We find also a similar law adverted to in the Saaelfelder statutes of the 13th century (art. 2), which is thus expressed: "Wirt ein man begriffen ander waren tad daer eine Fraven oder eine maget notzoget, man sal yme den stalz abestoze mit ein Winbrechen *Deile*." From these passages it is clear that decapitation by the *plank* or *deal* was the punishment inflicted on those who offered violence to women! Now this is a species of the *lex talionis* which is better relished and more readily understood by barbarous people, and even by the common people of the present day, than any other code. Even the threats of the latter bear frequently an indirect allusion to it: "He laughs at me, does he? I'll make him laugh the other side of his mouth!" "He has stolen my horse-collar, has he? I'll give him a hempen collar to boot!" These, and such like, are expressions often heard amongst the common people of England; and I believe, amongst those of every other nation, we shall find similar expressions. May not then the common people of the middle ages have been accustomed to say something of this kind, "So, he has kissed a virgin? We shall see how he will like to be kissed by the virgin into whose hands he is about to be delivered."

I was addressed to a person there, said to be distinguished amongst the most enlightened of his fellow citizens, and who gave me this answer to my inquiries relative to the Virgin.

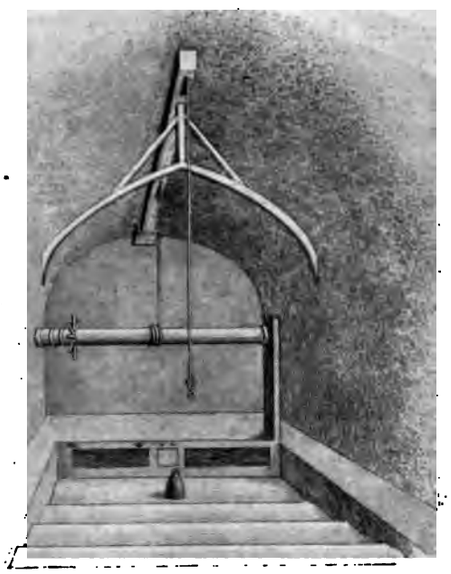
"I have heard of such a thing, but doubt whether it ever existed here. Popular taste in every age has hunted after the marvellous; and here, as in other countries, there have not been wanting foresters to start game for it. If such a machine ever existed in Nuremberg, it must have been at the town hall, where there are yet to be seen the prisons which were formerly made use of in our city; but I doubt whether you will find it there. Such a thing is much more likely to be found in some of the castles in the neighbourhood."

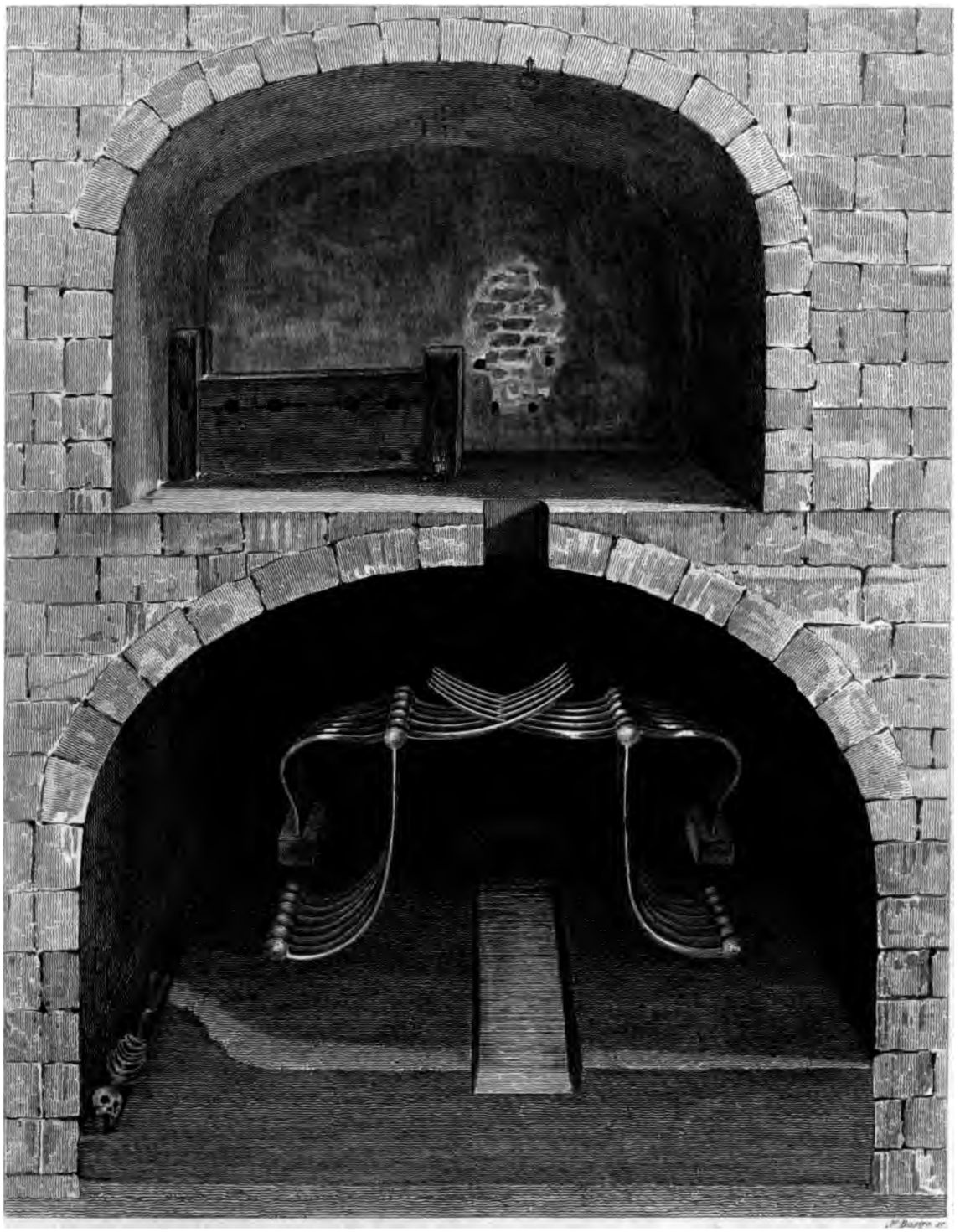
I went accordingly to the town hall, and although I found no "Virgin," I found other things which perfectly satisfied me that the old patrician citizens of Nuremberg had no right to ascribe to themselves feelings of humanity superior to those of the old Robber-Chivalry, who I have generally observed to be a sort of scape-goat amongst the Germans of the present day, and to be accused of almost every vice and violence which distinguished the age in which they lived. Far be it from me to think the ancient magistrates of Nuremberg worse than those of any other city; but we shall see in the sequel, with what charity and moderation the high privileges of the Imperial Corporations were exercised.

On asking to see the old dungeons of the Town Hall, I was taken to a place there called the "*Lock*," or Hole, and a horrid hole it was! After a descent of about fifteen or sixteen narrow and rapid stairs, I found myself in a passage which led into a subterranean corridor. Here, on the left hand of the entrance, was a machine very similar to our stocks, which in Germany is commonly called a fiddle. (See Pl. XV.) It is a fiddle, however, which must have produced most horrid music; for it was there that those persons who had the misfortune to fall under the suspicion of the old city government, received their first notions of its paternal administration of justice by being invited to confess the crimes laid to their charge, through the silent but persuasive eloquence of thumb screws and thorn collars. I was told, indeed, that the accused was merely obliged to wait here till he was introduced to the torture chamber; but there was something in the form of the bench where he sat which told a different story. I refer to two round holes on which the culprits were obliged

to sit, and which plainly shewed that the purposes for which they were placed there were expected to derange the animal economy of their bodies, and that convenience and cleanliness rendered such apertures necessary.

On each side of the corridor were prisons, little more than six feet square, completely dark and cased with oak; such material affording more security than a stone wall, in consequence of the difficulty of removing planks without noise being greater than that of disturbing bricks and mortar. But any apprehension of escape must have been uncalled for; because the culprits appeared to have been usually chained to the oaken benches which served them for beds. In most of the dungeons was a heavy square stone, about a foot high, the middle of which was hollowed out into the shape of a funnel. This seemed at first to be intended as a receptacle for fire, but my conductor told me it was intended to serve the purposes of nature. The mind recoils with horror and disgust at the bare idea of a man being subjected to such confinement, in such a place, and in such an atmosphere. Either the patricians must have had no fellow feeling for those they governed, or else close air and foul smells had formerly not the same effect on our health and nerves as they now have.





Interior of the Chamber at Nuremberg, with the presumed form of the Instrument in the room beneath.

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A little further on there was a torture chamber, yet containing, in an imperfect state, the stretching machine or perpendicular rack; and in a vault still further on, and which was also occasionally used as a torture chamber, there were two stone weights, one of fifty pounds, and the other of a hundred, which used to be attached to the ancles of the persons who were put to this variety of the question. "Some years back," said my conductor, "a complete torture apparatus, boots, collars, thumb-screws, and all other appurtenances, were to be seen here, but they have since been removed and sold for old iron."

Near the entrance of the vault, in which I found the stone weights, was a strong door. "That," said my guide (who was an old man, and had been from his youth upwards the guardian of these regions), "leads to the subterranean passages which were formerly the place of refuge of the patricians in time of tumult or other danger. Each of them had a secret door leading from the cellar of his house into these passages, by means of which he could escape, and remain there till any danger which threatened him had passed away. The chief of every patrician family was bound by oath to keep secret the position and existence of such door, and to wall it up if ever misfortune or necessity should oblige him to part with his house to any one who was not of his own order. There are a great many of these passages; and some of them are extremely long and have never been thoroughly explored. It is said that one of them goes under the wall and ditch of our city, and has a secret outlet at some place in the surrounding country where there was formerly a wood."

My curiosity was piqued to see something of these passages, and having procured fresh lights, we selected one of them, and entered. It was narrow, and well riveted with brick. After walking four or five hundred yards, we came to a place where the ceiling had been repaired and covered with plaster, on which the workmen had marked the initials of their names, while the plaster was wet, and added a date of 1592. About fifty yards further on were two reservoirs, made on either side of the wall, for the purpose of holding water, in which fish might be kept alive for the maintenance of those who had taken refuge here. The passage afterwards went about a hundred yards further on, until it was stopped in front by a solid rock. Up to this point it was nearly straight, horizontal, perfectly dry, and in good repair; but on arriving at the rock, it turned round, at right angles, and had only one side

riveted, the rock forming the other side. Here it became lower, and very irregular in width, and after pursuing it for about forty or fifty paces further, we were obliged to stop, in consequence of the mud which had been caused by the land water draining through the rock, and which, the further we went, got deeper and deeper, and extremely inconvenient to us. We returned therefore towards the day light; and, although in retracing our steps I observed passages shooting off in different directions, I did not attempt to explore any of them, for my guide not only confessed his inability to tell me where they led, but assured me that there was no one in the city who knew more on that subject than himself.

But the Virgin! for I had neither forgotten nor abandoned her. After what I had seen, there was no reason to believe that the humanity of the ancient magistrates of Nuremberg would have been particularly abstemious in employing her, however completely disconnected they may have been with the predatory gentry [b] of the surrounding country. The Virgin was no where to be found in the vaults of the town hall, and, according to my guide, she had never been there. He said, however, that he had frequently heard that such a machine had been formerly employed, and that he recollected that the women, when he was a boy, used to still their children by saying to them, "I'll give thee to the Virgin." I asked him whether he thought it was in the *Frosch-Thurm*, but he answered me positively in the negative, and said that he did not believe there was any place near the *Sieben Zeiler* where it could possibly be deposited. "But," added he, "if you wish to know any thing particular about such a matter, you had better go to Dr. Mayer, who is the keeper of the archives; he can tell you more about such matters than any one here." I went to him accordingly.

Dr. Mayer told me that the passage from the Chronicle quoted by Siebenkees was no fable: that the machine had formerly stood in a vault near to the *Sieben Zeiler*; and that he himself had seen part of the machinery which belonged to it, although the figure itself had disappeared.

[b] I have used the word gentry here, rather than *nobility*, because our word nobility, in its ordinary acceptation, refers to the Peerage, and it is only the high nobility of Germany, that is to say those who had anciently the *hereditary right of seat and vote in the Diet or Parliament of the Empire*, who can be classed with our Peers. The rest, titular Counts, Barons and others, were called *nieder* Adel, and must be classed with our *nobiles minores* or gentry.

"The figure," said he, "stood at the brink of a trap-door; and when the individual who had suffered by its embraces was released from them, he fell downwards through it on a sort of cradle of swords, placed in a vault underneath, and which were arranged so as to cut his body into pieces, which dropt into running water over which the machine stood!"

He could not tell me the precise manner in which this machine operated, but said that he understood it to have been thus: two wooden cylinders were placed parallel to each other, so as to extend right across the inferior vault; into the front of each of these cylinders were screwed a great many iron blades, which projected in the face of each other, and crossed each other like scissor-blades; and into the rear of the same cylinders were screwed an equal number of curved bars of iron. The cylinders, being thus armed, were put in equilibrio by means of weights, and by placing the ends of the bars on strong beams, so that, when any thing heavy fell from above on the blades, they were put in motion, and made to perform a cutting movement. I need not say that in this manner the body of a man must have been soon minced to pieces; but in order to give the reader a clear idea of the contrivance in question, I must refer him to the drawing (Plate XV.), and at the same time recal to his mind a toy which he has perhaps been familiar with in infancy, and which is in England called the prancing dragoon; for there must, I apprehend, have been the same principle of movement in both.

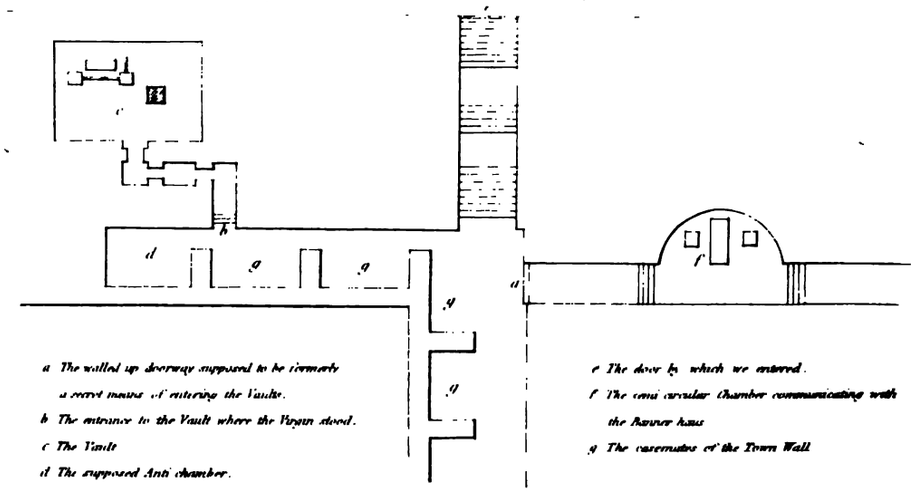
Desirous of seeing the spot where the Virgin stood, I procured permission to visit it from the city architect, who sent me the keys by a man named Kiefer. This man had been a long time in the employment of the magistrates, and he accompanied Dr. Mayer and myself to the spot in question. He was a stranger to Dr. Mayer, but he had himself, many years back, been in the vaults whither we were proceeding, and he gave me an account of what he had seen there, which corroborated perfectly that which I had previously heard from Dr. Mayer; and he added that, having descended into the undermost vault, he found the two beams yet remaining, and that there were holes in them into which the blades, with which they were formerly furnished, had been evidently screwed. He found no stream of water there, although the place was extremely wet and damp; and on one side of the vault, which was drier than the other, there was a sort of grave in which were many human sculls and

bones. I asked him whether he had ever known any one who had seen the machine in a perfect state? He answered me in the affimative, and told me that, in his youth, he had known an old man named Kaiferlin who had seen it so, and that he had heard from this person that there was formerly a stream of water which flowed through the lower vault. He stated also that this Kaiferlin told him (and I beg the reader's attention to this fact) that two or three days before the entry of the French into Nuremberg, the Virgin and all the instruments of torture formerly kept in the place where she was, were taken away by night in a cart, and that neither she nor they had ever been heard of since.

Having obtained this information, we went to the spot pointed out by Dr. Mayer, which was exactly such as is described in the Chronicle.

In face of the street called the Sieben Zeiler, and not far distant from a building called the Banner Haus (where the civic feasts were anciently given) stood one of the bastions in the town wall. It was what engineers call a full bastion, and the terre plein, instead of having an interior slope, was scarped off perpendicularly and riveted with stone. In this rivetment was a small old-fashioned door. Through this we descended by a flight of about forty or fifty steps into the casements of the bastion.

A ground Plan of the Vault and its approaches.



It will be seen by the accompanying plan, that on arriving at the bottom of these steps there is a spot marked *a*. Here was a door-way which was walled up, and which I shall have occasion to speak of hereafter. At present, however, I must direct the reader's attention to the spot marked *d*. At this point I found a sort of recess or chamber formed by the projection of one of the counterforts of the town wall. In this chamber there were joists and rafters and other indications of a planked floor having been formerly there, and indeed it is extremely probable that this spot was used as a sort of waiting room to the vaults in which the Virgin stood, it being almost immediately opposite to the door of the passage which leads to them.

This passage, as will be seen in the plan, is narrow, and was secured with no less than four doors. Some of them yet remained. They were of iron, and all made to fasten externally.

Through this passage we entered the chamber marked *e*. It was here that the Virgin received her prey. This chamber was perfectly dark; near the centre of the floor was a square hole, and on the sides of it were the remains of hinges, which showed that it had been formerly covered with a trap door. In a line with this hole I remarked, on the opposite wall, four holes, the position of which made it evident that some important piece of machinery had once been fixed there. Immediately over the square hole in the floor was a reel fixed into the ceiling, such as might be used either for suspending a lamp or for letting persons down into the vault beneath. This I found to be of much greater size than the upper vault. Having no ladder or other means of descending, all I could do was to let down a strong light at the end of a string, by means of which I was enabled to see its interior.

It was arched like the upper chamber, and on the ground of it lay beams and large pieces of wood, showing clearly that a construction of no ordinary dimensions had once existed there, and being such as might very naturally belong to such a machine as had been described to me by Kiefer and Dr. Mayer. The grave also which had been mentioned by the former was to be seen. The woodwork, and every thing which lay on the floor of this place, was in a state of great decay, owing to a quantity of water which had accumulated on the floor; and, although no stream runs through it at present, it is not at all impossible but that there might have been one formerly; or that there might then have been a means of letting water flow through the vault

for the purpose of washing away the blood or whatever else, without some such means of cleansing, would have created an intolerable putrescency. I ought not to omit to remark that a corner of the upper one of the vaults which I have been describing, was occupied by one of those torture benches called fiddles, similar in every respect to the one seen in the subterranean chambers of the town hall.

Having inspected all that was to be seen, we returned homewards. I could not, however, help remarking that if the persons intended to suffer death or torture in this horrid apartment entered it in the same way as ourselves, their so doing would be hardly consistent with the intentions of those who had constructed it; for it was evidently not intended to be an appendage to any system of *public* justice, but must have been the slaughter-house of some tribunal which executed its decrees in secret.

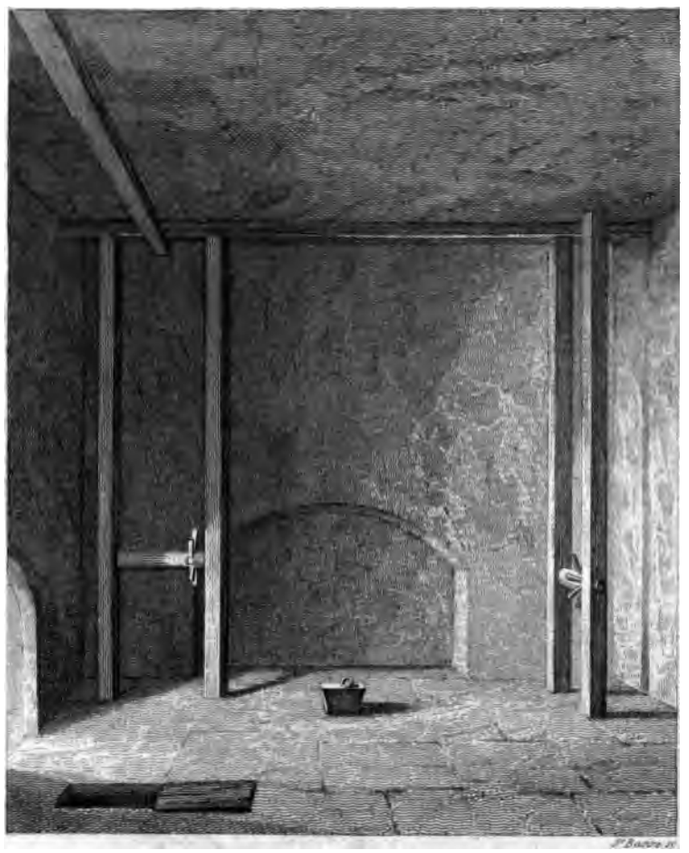
It therefore seemed as if the apartment in question must have been approached through the blocked up door-way marked *a*, which must have led thither from some prison or other building of importance; and from what I afterwards heard (from a person whose name I am not at liberty to mention, but whose education, means of information, and respectability would give credit to any testimony) I found that my conjecture was correct.

The person to whom I have last alluded, pointed out to me the Banner-house which I have already stated to be at no great distance from the entrance door of the vaults which I had been examining. "This Banner-house," said he, "has cellars underneath it, and in one of them there is yet remaining a small door. On passing through it, you find yourself in a narrow passage. Go on a few paces and you will find two or three steps: mount these, and you enter a small semicircular room, in which is yet to be seen a stone table with seats. Pass onwards, through this chamber, and you will be obliged to descend steps similar to those by which you arrived at it, after which, on proceeding a short distance, you will arrive at a doorway, now walled up, but which formerly led through the casements of the old fortress to the chamber where the Virgin was deposited." And I take this walled-up doorway to be the one which I have marked *a* in the accompanying plan.

Having thus established the fact of the Virgin's existence by hearsay evidence, and confirmed it by the testimony of two intelligent living witnesses, who corroborated each other, I was obliged to rest contented for the time



Castle at Salzburg. The Torture Chamber in the square tower to the right.



Interior of the Torture Chamber

Published by the Society of Antiquaries, London, April 25th 1838

with the progress of my researches, and to trust to chance for enabling me at a future moment to find out the machine itself.

Before I left Nuremberg, however, I tried to find out whether there was any well-known instance of a person who had suffered by the "Virgin." The reply I received was in the negative; and the absence of such instances was accounted for, by the proceedings of the tribunal to which the Virgin belonged having been always secret. But I was told that there was in existence an old Nuremberg ballad, the subject of which was a runaway match between a patrician girl and a plebeian youth, who, as the song goes, was made to perish in the arms of the Virgin by the family of the wife, as an expiation for the offence he had committed in dishonouring it with his lowly alliance.

As, however, I could not procure a copy of this ballad when I was on the spot, and as I have never been able to find or hear of it since, and more particularly as the time to which it relates was said to be previous to the 14th century, I am inclined to doubt its authenticity; for there is some reason to believe that the Virgin did not exist in Germany before the 15th century.

It was not until the year 1834 that I obtained any further information about the machine in question.

At that time I made an excursion to Vienna, and passed through Saltzburg. In the castle at the latter place, I was shewn a torture chamber, where I was assured that a Virgin had formerly stood, and an Austrian serjeant, who showed me over the place, an intelligent man, assured me that this engine was at that time deposited in the Imperial arsenal at Vienna.

The torture chamber at Saltzburg was situated in a small square tower. (Plate XVI.) Like the vault at Nuremberg, it had a trap-door in its floor, into a still larger chamber underneath, but this had evidently never had any machinery in it like the inferior vault at Nuremberg. Both chambers at Saltzburg were sufficiently well lighted, and I am much inclined to think that the undermost one was merely a room where culprits were obliged to wait until they were hauled up out of it to be examined in the upper one.

At Vienna I did not fail to make inquiries at the Imperial arsenal, concerning the Virgin which was said to have been deposited there; but the persons who had the custody of that building assured me that no such engine was in it, nor to their knowledge in Vienna.

Many persons of the better class, to whom I spoke on the subject, denied that the Virgin had ever existed in Austria; but my laquais-de-place, and others of the lower class, told me, that when they were young, it was said to be standing in a tower which hangs over the canal that runs through Vienna into the Danube, and that whenever the water there looked a little red (as was usually the case after a storm) nothing was more common than to hear people say, "So the Virgin has been at her work again."

At length I learnt accidentally in conversation, that a specimen of this terrible machine might be seen in a collection of Antiquities belonging to a certain Baron Diedrich, and kept in a castle called Feistritz, which he had purchased on the borders of Steirmark; and which he very politely permitted me to visit.

A predilection for the relics of past time, and a very considerable fortune, have given to the proprietor of this castle the disposition and means of assembling there a great quantity of ancient arms and armour, furniture, books, and other things of an interesting character; but the history of his becoming possessed of the Virgin (Plates XVII. XVIII.) is particularly worthy of attention.

"I bought it," said he to me, "of a person who obtained it, *with the left hand*, during the French revolution, and had with it *great part of the contents of the arsenal of* NUREMBERG. From him I received it *in a cart* with several things which had formerly belonged to that arsenal. It came to me rusted and in bad condition, deprived of its machinery, but accompanied by the pedestal on which it now stands, and which seems to have been made for it."

Now let the reader look at the Plates which represent accurately the Virgin in question, and he will see something very like the costume of Nuremberg in the 16th century, which is precisely the epoch when the Virgin is said to have been constructed there.

Let him also understand that the Virgin, represented by the drawing, is just seven feet high, Nuremberg measure, and is made entirely of iron, and then, I think, he will agree with me that the Virgin now in the possession of M. De Diedrich must be the same machine which stood formerly in the subterranean vault of the before-mentioned city.

When I saw it, it was placed on a sort of low wooden pedestal, hollow, and



Ornament on the front.

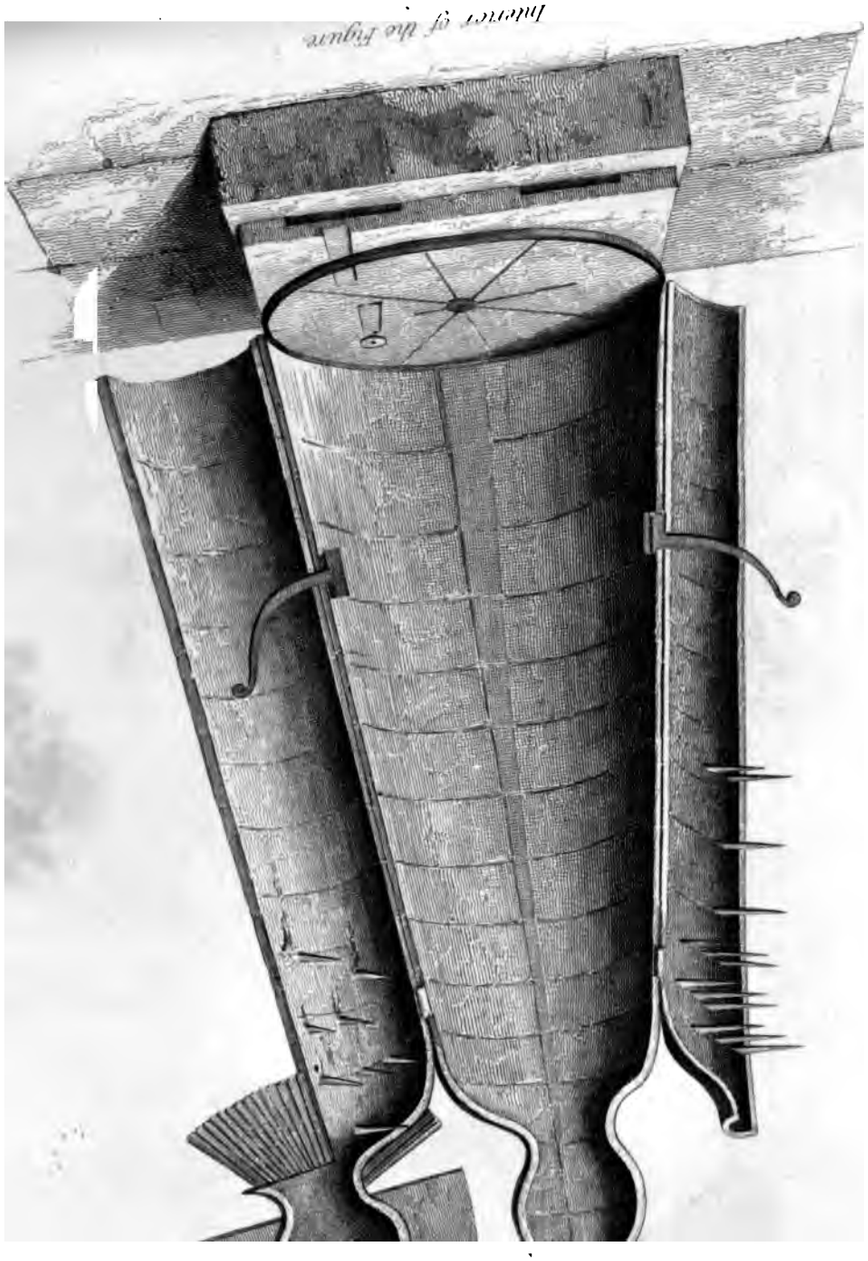


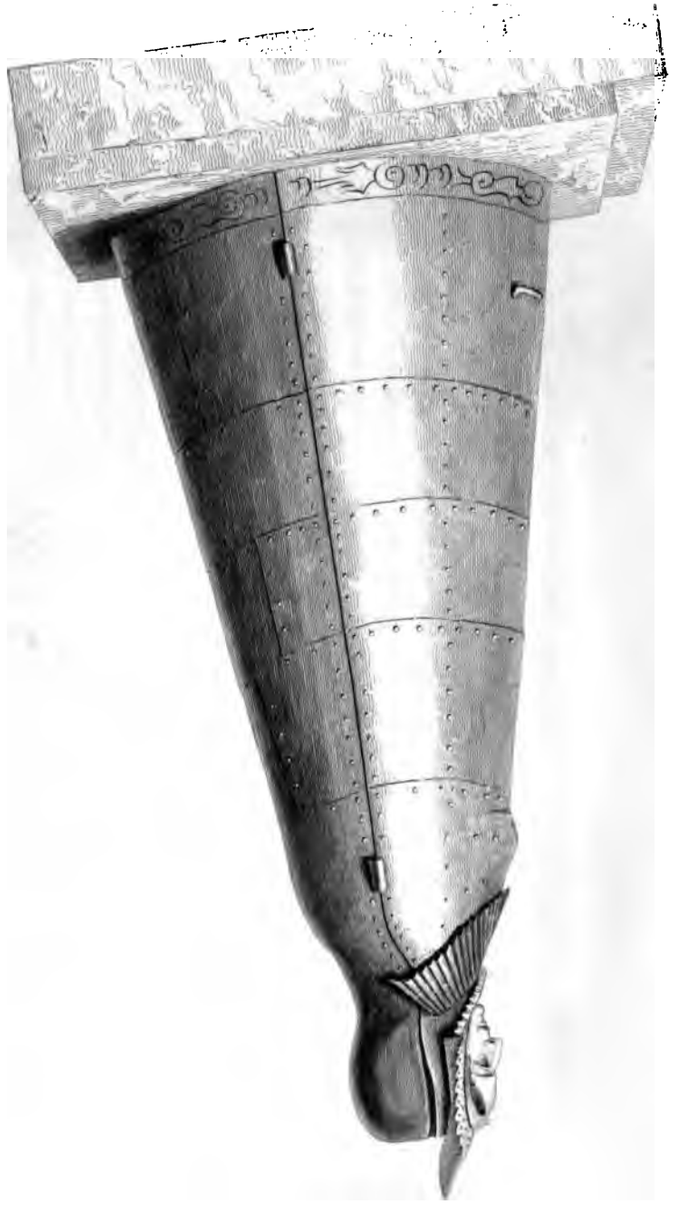
Scale one inch to a foot.

The Jungfer or Virgin as it stood in 1834 in the Castle of Feistritz belonging to Baron Diedrich of Vienna.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 29th 1836.

J. Basire sc.


Interior of the figure





square, which, as I have before said, accompanied the machine itself into the hands of its present possessor.

The construction of the figure was simple enough. A skeleton, formed of bars and hoops, was coated over with sheet iron, which was laid on and painted, so as to represent a Nuremberg-citizen's wife of the 16th century, in the mantle then generally worn by that class of persons.

From the plate representing the interior of the machine, the reader will see that the front of it opened like folding doors, the two halves of the front part of it being connected by hinges with the back part. On the inside of its right breast are thirteen quadrangular poniards. There are eight of these on the inside of the left breast, and two on the inside of the face. These last were clearly intended for the eyes of the victim, who must have therefore gone backwards into it, and have received, in an upright position, in his breast and head, the blades to which he was exposed. That this machine had been formerly used cannot be doubted, because there are evident blood stains yet visible on its breast and on the upper part of its pedestal. How it was worked is not known, for the mechanism which caused it to open and shut is no longer attached to it; but that there was some such mechanism, is clear from the holes and sockets which have been cut out on the surface of the pedestal, showing the points where parts of the apparatus, intended to work it, must have been inserted. It stands at present on castors, and there are two iron springs which its present proprietor has caused to be placed in it, for the purpose of making its sides to open whenever it is moved forward; but this is merely done to startle, by way of pleasantry, those who see it for the first time, and without any idea of explaining the means by which it was anciently made to perform its office.

Perhaps, however, I can throw some little light on this difficulty. In the year 1835 I met at Liege with a very well-educated and accomplished man of letters; he was a Frenchman by birth, and had been attached to the Court of Joseph Bonaparte, when he was promoted by his brother Napoleon to be King of Spain. There my informant told me that he had an opportunity of inspecting the chamber of the Inquisition at Madrid, and that among other instruments with which it was provided, he found an image of the Virgin Mary, composed partly of wood and partly of iron. This engine

was called "Mater Dolorosa," and with it was administered the last and severest degree of torture. Its ordinary position was that of a woman standing erect, with her arms crossed on her bosom; but there was a contrivance by which she was made to expand her arms, and then the inside surfaces of them were seen to be garnished with a number of small points or stilettes. The person to be tortured was placed opposite to her, breast to breast, and then her arms were brought round his back, and by means of a powerful screwing implement made to grasp him tightly, so as to inflict great pain, and to render it impossible that he could fall from her gripe. Whilst she held him thus firmly, a trap-door was opened under his feet, so as to cause him to hang in agony over an abyss. In this position he was importuned to confess his guilt, whilst the arms of the machine were slowly and gradually screwed tighter and tighter, till life was squeezed out of his body. His corpse was then released, and fell through the trap-door into a sort of *oubliette*. Now, I am much inclined to think that the machine in the possession of Baron Diedrich was made to do its inhuman duty somewhat in the same manner as the machine in the Spanish Inquisition; that is to say, its front was probably forced down on the person within by means of some screwing apparatus which is now lost.

Perhaps also the merit of having invented the Virgin is due to the genius of Spain, and it is by no means improbable that it was from thence transplanted into Germany during the reign of Charles the Fifth, who was monarch of both countries. According to M. de Pfeffel (Abrégé de l'Histoire d'Allemagne, p. 414) there were great tumults in Germany during the years 1531 and 1532, and continual quarrels at Nuremberg between the Protestants and Catholics. "In 1532 was published," says he, "the famous Criminal Code of the Empire, which was the most severe and the least observed in Europe." In 1533 (only one year later) the Iron Virgin was, according to the Chronicle cited by Siebenkees, constructed at Nuremberg. This latter fact is sufficiently remarkable; for one may see that, not content with having made a penal law more cruel than the spirit of the German people, the Imperial Government of that day quietly permitted the institution of a punishment not authorised by that law, and too remarkable to escape attention. How is this fact to be explained? One is almost tempted to believe that some member of the Supreme

Council of Castile had thus addressed himself to the German ministry of his sovereign: "Gentlemen, you have done your work awkwardly: you have attempted to do in public more than your people are prepared to welcome! You may, however, repair your error. Do in secret that which you may find it inconvenient to do openly; and if you wish to know *how*, go to Venice, or come to us, and you will see that, in our secret tribunals, we get on with our business very well, without being subjected to the inconvenience of shocking public sensibility!"

As I have not the means of consulting those books and authorities which might fix the time when this machine was first employed in Spain, I cannot do more than offer, as a bare supposition, my idea that it was received from them into Germany; but I was told by Mr. Gèvay, a learned and distinguished Hungarian in the Imperial Library at Vienna, that he had read of this machine in a Spanish romance of the early part of the 16th century, which proves that it was known in Spain at the period in question. The author also of a French romance, published at Paris in 1828, and entitled Cornelia Boroquia, makes mention of it as Spanish, and this attributes it to the same epoch, for she was tortured, if I remember rightly, in the 16th century. Add to this, that it is an instrument much more congenial with the genius of the Spanish nation than with that of the Germans. The latter are not naturally cruel, although they may be sufficiently prone to imitate bad example; and if one examines the German instruments of torture of the 16th century, he will find them extremely rude and simple, whilst those of Spain are not only better wrought, but have an elegance of form, and an ingenuity in their contrivance, which could only come from the hands of persons who could follow and study this kind of manufacture with zeal and pleasure, and be ambitious of the peculiar distinction which a successful cultivation of it might produce.[c]

[c] The following extract from Hampton's Polybius seems to attribute the *invention* of the Virgin to Nabis tyrant of Sparta, who died B. C. 192: "He (Nabis) contrived also a machine, if it may be called by such a name, an image of a woman, magnificently dressed, and formed in a most exact resemblance of his wife. And when his intention was to draw money from any of the citizens, he invited them to his house, and represented to them the great cost of maintaining the worship of the Gods, &c. If these arguments prevailed, it was sufficient for his purpose. But if all his solicitations were without effect, then he used to say: 'I want, it seems, the power of persuasion; but Apega, I believe, will

There can be no doubt that many of these engines were formerly to be found in Germany, especially in corporate cities, and in the castles of wealthy and powerful princes; and there can be as little doubt that shame, at the idea of having the reputation of even countenancing a thing so barbarous, has induced, in almost every instance, the posterity of their original possessors to hide, or destroy, or sell them for old iron; so that one may regard the machine now in the possession of Baron Diedrich as a very great rarity. I have, within the last year, been told of the existence of at least half a dozen; but on making inquiries at the places where they were reported to be present, I have invariably received answers in the negative. I remember that an old Austrian artillery man, who, in 1834, was living at the castle of Baron Diedrich, told me that, when he was a young man and garrisoned at Prague (which was fifty-seven years anterior to the time of our conversation), there was a machine of this kind at the Wenzels-Burg, near that city, and that it stood on the first floor of that building, in a long room, which was then used by the Austrian artillery as a laboratory. This man was nearly eighty years old, but was in full possession of his intellects, and he told his story so simply and naturally, that I could have no doubt of its correctness. He said that the machine was made differently to that in the castle, for that it had arms, and that the soldiers used to amuse themselves by making them open and shut, until one day they broke the machinery, and so crippled it. He described particularly the place where it stood, and said that he and his comrades, and every body else, regarded it as a useless piece of old iron. He added, that he himself had never seen any others than the Virgin at Prague, and that belonging to his master, but that in his youth he had heard of many, which he could not particularize, because at that time it was generally believed that they existed in every town where the

persuade you.' Apega was the name of his wife. Upon these words an image of the woman that has been mentioned immediately appeared. Nabis then taking her by the hand raised her from her seat, and folding afterwards his arms round the person whom he had been soliciting, brought him near by degrees to the body of the image, whose breast, arms, and hands were stuck full of points of iron, concealed under the clothes; and then pressing the back of the pretended woman with his hands, by means of some secret spring, he fixed the man close to her breast, and soon forced him to promise all he desired. But there were some also who perished in this torture, when they refused to comply with his demands." Vide vol. ii. ed. Lond. 1772, p. 291.

corporation possessed a criminal jurisdiction, although they were regarded as relics of antiquity which had long ceased to be employed.

There can be no doubt, however, that this machine no longer exists at Prague. I was there in November 1834, and took much pains to find it out, but in vain.

The keeper of the council-house told me that, some years ago, he had in his possession the instruments of torture and execution which formerly were used by the magistracy, and that there was no such machine as the Virgin amongst them. He said, however, that such an engine was reported to have anciently existed in the white tower on the Headchin, where state criminals were formerly executed in secret. But this tower was in ruins, so there was no chance of finding it there; although I understood, from a person who descended into the pit of it, that, from the number of human bones to be found there, one might fairly conclude that the office of executioner was no sinecure in former times.

I have since heard, on the evidence of a most respectable eye-witness that, some years ago, there was a "Virgin" in the castle of Ambrass, near Insbruck, which was furnished with arms, like that at Prague.

I have heard, also on very respectable testimony, that another, similar to the former, was, some years since, in the royal castle at Berlin; but I have not been able to ascertain whether it now exists there.

Another is said to be standing, *in a perfect state*, in the castle of Schwerin; but in this case I cannot rely on my authority as in the others.

Probably one might find in Spain other specimens of this machine; perhaps some may exist in Italy, for I have heard that at the close of the war of 1814, there was something very like it at Florence. But in Germany the country has been, from time to time, so pillaged and overturned by war, that it is more than difficult, at the present day, to lay one's hand on an example; the more especially as the municipal governments there like better to conceal than to avow the existence of such a machine.

But, after having seen the engine in the possession of Baron Diedrich, one can no longer doubt that others of its species were employed as appendages to the ancient tribunals; and one is therefore obliged to regard the story of "*the Kiss of the Virgin*," not as a popular legend, but as history. It is

for the purpose of putting this fact in evidence that I have written the present narration. In the course of another hundred years all substantial traces of the machine will probably have disappeared, and then there will be no want of persons ready to treat as false, a tradition which, nevertheless, throws a sufficiently strong light on the judicial institutions of the past time.

I cannot close these observations without remarking what appears to me to be a very singular circumstance, namely,—that, although the word "*Jungfernkuss*" is familiar to every peasant in Germany, one can neither find it in the Lexicons of Adelung and Campe, nor in any other book of that sort which I have been able to consult. One is almost tempted to believe that explanation of the word was forbidden by the censors of the press.

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the machine was employed in many of the European states, and in most, if not in all, of the imperial cities; and perhaps its existence is the strongest proof that can be adduced of the danger of permitting tribunals of criminal justice to do their duty in any other place than an open court.

XVI. *Remarks on the Towneley Mysteries, in a Letter from the Rev.* Lancelot Sharpe, *M.A. (Camb.) F.S.A., addressed to* Thomas Amyot, *Esq. F.S.A. Treasurer.*

Read 16th March, 1837.

St. Saviour's Grammar School, March 11, 1837.

Dear Sir,

I CONGRATULATE you, in common with all the lovers of our antique lore, on the publication of the "Towneley Mysteries" by the Surtees Society. I trust this volume is but the forerunner of a complete edition of the Chester and Coventry Plays, in a similarly elegant form; though with greater accuracy, and a more correct glossary. Mr. Markland, Mr. Collier, and Mr. Sharp, have shown how admirably competent they are to such a task, by the specimens with which already they have respectively enriched the literary world; and I hope they may be prevailed upon to complete the work.

These Mysteries are highly curious, as affording us a specimen of the amusements of our unpolished ancestors, and of the manner in which they endeavoured to combine instruction with entertainment. Whether it succeeded may admit of question.

In them we have the most disgusting ribaldry joined with the deepest pathos; the most revolting blasphemy in connection with the most sacred mysteries of our religion. They seem the exact counterpart of the Easter Sermons mentioned by Dante, as in vogue in his time. Paradiso, xxix. 115—117.

"Ora si va con motti, e con iscede
A predicare, e, pur che ben si rida,
Gonfia 'l cappucio, e più non si richiede:"

by Hospinian, some ages later, De Orig. Fest. Christ. p. 98: "De Risu Paschali. Ab iis vero lætitiæ signis, quæ in memoriam Resurrectionis Dominicæ

in die Paschali edebantur, sine dubio consuetudo illa in plurimis Pontificiis Ecclesiis originem sumpsit, qua in ipso Sacrosancto die Paschæ inter concionandum, ad recreandum auditorum animos et risum excitandum, quum nullo unquam tempore nos magis oporteret esse serios, profanæ et ludicræ proferuntur fabellæ ab ipsis Sacerdotibus, haud aliter quam a scenicis Histrionibus et Circulatoribus. De qua consuetudine Oecolampadius in Epistola ad Capitonem de Risu Paschali. Hunc morem, ait, tanquam sacrum custoditurus frater quidam, magno satis ineruditæ plebeculæ plausu deblatterabat tam ridicula deliramenta, ut me pudeat ejusmodi nugis chartas commaculare, ne aures pias offendam:" and held up to ridicule, so late as the middle of the last century, by Father Isla in his "Fray Gerundio." The following "Instructions of the Town to the Reverend the Preachers," though, no doubt, highly caricatured, would lose all their point, unless they had been grounded on reality. "Easter Sunday. The Sermon of Pleasantries at five o'clock in the morning. In this sermon it is necessary for the Preacher to have all the merry tales, droll fancies, jests, jokes, and witticisms, all the quips, cranks, bams, banters, and buffoonery he can rake together, to divert the immense concourse who come to hear him. He has no need to be nice and squeamish; let them be of what kind they will, however filthy, beastly, or indecent, for it is well known that every thing passes upon this day..... The Father Preachers, who have brought a droll lay-brother with them for their companion (for some have brought such an one) have ordered the lay-brother to get up in the pulpit and preach a burlesque sermon with all manner of Merry-andrew tricks. In general these sermons end with a mock act of contrition, and instead of a crucifix, the lay-brother brings out from under his habit a pye, an hock of bacon, or a bottle of wine, which he addresses with a thousand amorous expressions in the tone of repentant sorrow, making the audience ready to die with laughter."—Vol. ii. pp. 502, 503, translation.

The prochronisms in these Mysteries are very remarkable. If Shakspeare introduces Hector speaking of Aristotle, or Beaumont and Fletcher make Demetrius let off a pistol, we cannot be much surprised that Pharao (p. 63) recommends prayer to Mahowne; Augustus Cæsar (pp. 66, 71) and Pilate (p. 174) swear by him, and his "bloode so dere;" that Herod (p. 120) calls him a "sant." Caiaphas (p. 194) sings mass; Noah's wife (p. 25) swears by

"Mary," and talks of "Stafford blew." The Shepherds (p. 88) are acquainted with "the foles of Gotham;" swear (p. 110) by "Sant Thomas of Kent;" and declare that "Johne Baptyste (who at that time was six months old) sewrly prophesyde," (p 94): with numerous others equally amusing.

A curious charm for bed-time occurs at p. 91:

"For ferde we be fryght a crosse let us kest,
Cryst crosse, benedyght, eest and west,
For dreede.
Jesus o' Nazorus,
Crucyefixus,
Marcus, Andreas,
God be our spede."

This reminds me of a similar rural charm, no doubt of equal antiquity, which, when a boy, I have often heard in Kent:

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Guard the bed that I lay on!
Four corners to my bed;
Four angels round my head!
Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Guard the bed that I lay on!"

But the point to which I wish particularly to draw your attention, in the Towneley Mysteries, is the copiousness and variety of the metres adopted in them. They seem to me to comprise every species of verse known up to the beginning of the fifteenth century; from the common heptasyllabic or octosyllabic distich, triplet, or quatrain, to the more complicated stanza, consisting of "rime entrelacée" and "couwée." Whether they contain any example of "rime baston," I must leave to more competent judges than myself to decide. My own opinion is, that they do. For, with great deference to the judgment and decision of the elegant Historian of English Poetry, I believe that Robert of Brunne, when speaking of "rime baston," does not intend to designate any species of verse that took its name from that poet, who composed in Latin, but simply the common *staff* (baston) or stanza generally used by the Minstrels.

What is very remarkable, we have, in the "Processus Talentorum," p. 233,

many *hexameters*, "where English verse halt ill on Roman feet." I subjoin a few specimens:

" Stemmate regali, kyng Athus gate me of Pila,
Tramite legali I am ordand to reyn apon Juda,
Nomine vulgari Pownce Pilat, that may ye welle say,
Qui bene vult fari shuld calle me fownder of alle lay."

" Judeorum
Jura guberno.
Pleasse me and say so,
Omnia firmo
Sorte deorum."

" Myghty lord of alle, me, Cæsar magnificavit;
Downe on knees ye falle, greatt God me sanctificavit;
Me to obey over alle, regi reliquo quasi David,
Hanged he, that he salle, hoc jussum qui reprobavit."

" I swere now;
Bot ye your hedes
Bare in thes stedes
Redy my swerde is
Of thaym to shere now."

This I conceive to be the earliest instance of the sort that can be adduced in our language; since these verses occur a century, at least, before Gabriel Harvey, Abraham Fraunce, Stanyhurst, or Sir Philip Sidney, adopted this metre as an ornament to our tongue. They exhibit also the earliest specimen of (if not strictly Macaronic verse, yet closely approaching) Macaronic verse; being some years antecedent to Skelton, and nearly half a century to Antonius de Arena or Theophilo Folengio.

It was my intention to have analysed the metre of each Mystery separately; but I soon found that would be a very tedious and uninteresting task. I have gone through the second, "Mactatio Abel." This consists of *twenty-four* (what, for want of a better word, I must call) stanzas, of different kinds of verse, of different lengths; some of them consisting but of six, and from thence varying to twenty-four, lines, with every combination of rime, from the most

simple to the most complicated; in one instance protracted from the 6th and 8th to the 24th line.

Whatever tends to elucidate the manners or the language of our ancestors is interesting. Puttenham, when describing that vicious mode of speech, which the Greeks call *Acyron*, i. e. "when we use a dark and obscure word, utterly repugnant to that we should express," adduces, as an instance, from the "Tanner of Tamworth," (where, by the by, it does not occur) "I *hope* I shall be hanged to-morrow," for "I fear me," &c. A similar instance occurs in the Mysteries, p. 323.

"Lorde, if it be thi wille,
I hope be this he savers ille;
For it is now the fourth day gone
Sen he was laide under yonde stone."

I think I can deduce from these Mysteries an explanation of a passage in Shakspeare, which has hitherto puzzled the Commentators. In "Winter's Tale," Act iv. sc. 3, the Clown asks, "Has he any *unbraided* wares?" In the Glossary to the Towneley Mysteries the word *brade* is explained by "a start, a sudden turn or assault." That it frequently has this signification, I am not unwilling to allow. But it also frequently signifies "a cry, or shriek:" and the verb has a kindred meaning. Indeed, in the following passage from the Mysteries, it can have no other:

"Bot romoure is rasyd so that *boldly thay brade*
Emanges thame."—P. 141.

To *up*braid is to cry out upon, to reproach. *Un*braided, in Shakspeare, therefore, is uncried, not hawked about, spick and span new.

In "Pericles," Act ii. sc. 1. (p. 61, Boswell's edition) we have, "Come away, or I'll fetch thee *with a wannion*." On which Steevens observes, "A phrase of which the meaning is obvious, though I cannot explain the word at the end of it." Boswell asks, "May not *wannion* be a corruption of *winnowing*?" Vanneure, in Cotgrave, is explained, "a winnowing, also a chiding, bayting, schooling."

The meaning of the phrase, instead of the precise words, occurs in the Towneley Mysteries, p. 257:

" Weynde furthe *in the wenyande*,
And hold stylle thy clattur."

Which is well explained in the Glossary, as " an allusion to the belief that actions undertaken *in the wane of the moon* would be unsuccessful."

" *With a wannion*," therefore, is an execration directly opposed to the Persian compliment, " May your shadow *never* be less!"

I am, dear Sir,

your most obedient servant,

LANCELOT SHARPE.

To Thomas Amyot, Esq.
Treasurer S. A., &c. &c.

XVII. *Original Record of the Form of Public Entry of King Henry VIII. into Tournay, after the Surrender in* 1513, *and the Notification, by Queen Catharine of Arragon, of the Birth of the Princess Mary, to the Municipal Authorities of Tournay: Communicated by* G. F. Beltz, *Esq., K.H., F.S.A., Lancaster Herald, in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Sec.*

Read 16th November, 1837.

My dear Sir, Heralds' College, April 3, 1837.

I SEND herewith a copy of the original record of the Form of Public Entry of King Henry VIII. into Tournay, after the surrender in 1513, which I lately met with in the Register, called (from its binding) "*Cuir noir*," remaining amongst the archives of that city.

This Register appears to have been more specially appropriated to the record of similar public entries of Princes, Archbishops, Bishops, and other distinguished personages; the most ancient being that of Philip III. King of France, in 1273.

Besides some details, in the document now submitted, which are interesting to the Antiquary from the circumstance that they were collected at the time of the event, and which I am not aware have been elsewhere preserved, it fixes the date, stated differently by historians, of the King's entrance. Stowe and Hall say that the siege commenced on the 21st of September, and that Henry made his entry on the 2nd October; Lingard places the latter on the 29th, Rapin on the 24th of September. The truth is, that the convention, respecting the pecuniary contribution laid on the city, was dated, according to the copy published by Rymer, on the 23rd—the surrender, according to this record, took place on the 24th, and the public entry on the 25th of that month.

I have subjoined a copy of the original notification, by Queen Catharine of Arragon, of the birth of the Princess Mary, to the municipal authorities of Tournay, preserved among the same archives. The year, 1515-16, is omitted. Rapin states the birth to have happened on the 18th February (the date of the letter), Tindal on the 11th, and Sandford on the 8th of that month.

I remain, with much esteem,

My dear Sir,

yours faithfully,

G. F. BELTZ, LANC.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.

PUBLIC ENTRY OF KING HENRY VIII. INTO TOURNAY 1513. EXTRACTED FROM THE REGISTER "CUIR NOIR," AMONGST THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF TOURNAY.

" De lentree du roy Henry cõme Roy de france et dangleterre.

" Le Dimence xxv jour du mois de septembre lan mil v^{c}. et treise Henry par la grace de dieu huitiesme de son nom Roy de france et dangleterre seign^{r} dirlande qui par lespace de dix jours paravant avoit mis le siege devant ceste ville etroite de tournay et grandement le fait battre de gros enguens et auques par traictie et accord sur fait avec roy de france la dite ville sestoit rendue vint premierement en la d. ville et cite et y fist son entree et avant sa dit entree Messires les consaulx dicelle ville envoyerent devers lui au lieu de Maire ou^{t}il se tenoit pour savoir la journee quant sa bon plaisir servit de faire sa dit entree en la dit Cite adfin que on se peust preparer pour le recevoir festoyer et honnourer Aussi pour lui recomander la dit ville et lentretenement des privileges et franchises dicelle Lequel seign^{r} les rechut et oy benignement Disant quil avoit intencion de faire sa dit entree le lendemain entre huit et noef heures

du matin qui estoit le dit jour de dimence Et pour ce que le jour estoit sy brief on fist hastinement nettoyer les rues parer les maisons et faire aucunes histoires depuis la porte sainte fontaine par laquelle le dit seign^{r} entra tout jusques en leglise nr̃e dame Et allerent tous les quatre consaulx conseillers greffiers procur̃s et autres officiers de la d. ville a lencontre du roy jusques a la dit porte sainte fontaine c̃hun ung flambeau ardant en la main Et les chefs de la loy et autres notables personnages avec le premier conseillier de la d. ville qui estoient de cheval widerent la dit porte et allerent a lencontre du roy quils trouverent au dit lieu de Maire Auquel par le d. premier conseillier fut fr̃e une notable proposicion Et le jour precedent par son coñandement lui avoient este pnr̃ez les clefs de toutes les portes de la dit V. et estoit le Roy accompagne de plusieurs princes et seigneurs de son royaulme dengleterre avec sa garde en grante nombre et plusieurs seign^{rs}. des pays depardechu et tous en avance audevant du roy entrevient en la d. ville Et le Roy estant a la d. porte sainte fontaine fut crye Vive le Roy Et descendirent illecques de leurs chevaulx les dit quatre chiefs de la loy de la d. ville et se mirent a piet Lesquels avec deux autres notables bourgeois de la d. ville porterent en hault au dessus du chief du Roy ung chiel que la ville avoit fait faire de bleu et de rouge velours seme de fleurs de lis et de luppars Et en cest estat sen vint le roy depuis la dit porte sainte fontaine tour du long de la grante rue Saint Jaques par le Saingle sur le Marchie et par la rue nr̃e dame jusques a la grande eglise ou il fist salutacion a dieu et a la glorieuse vierge Marie et dillecqs sen alla a son logis en la maison dun Chanoine noñe maistre Simon Huland Et en amenant le roy par les rues dessusdits furent sonnees toutes les cloches des pauroisches de la d. ville et furent portez a double reng les torses des mestiers de la d. ville Apres alloient par ordonance les d. quatre consaulx conseilliers greffiers procur̃s et autres officiers de la d. ville c̃hun ung flambeau ardant en la main et au devant du roy y avoit plusieurs princes et seign^{rs} a cheval et apres le roy venoit sa garde a piet en grant nombre Et sy estoient la plus part des maisons richement parees de tapisserie linges et autres choses et lapresdisner les dits chiefs de la loy et le conseil de la d. ville allerent devers le roy en son dit logis et a sa p^{r}miere venue lui presenterent de par la dit ville six breucs de vin de beaune lequel pñt il rechut aggreablement Et cy merchia ceulx dicelle ville c̄ofirma les privileges dicelle et accorda que la d. ville exersast tousjours sa

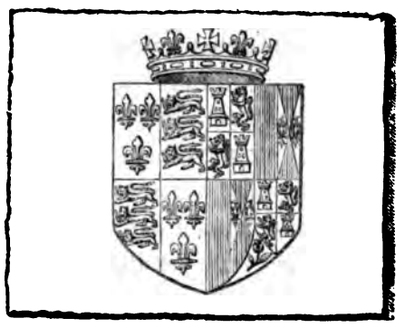
jurisdiction come par laccord sur ce fait il avoit promis Et quant aux graces que le d. seignr. fist Il eslargy tous prisonniers quil trouva es prisons de la d. ville pour quelque malefice qui fust et aussi les prisons de levesque et de la justice de Maire et sy rendy la d. ville a tous bañis qui le jour de sa dite premiere entree vinrent avec lui en la d. cite et qui dedens tierch jour se pñterent et bailleroient leur requeste tant aux registres pour homicide que aux bañis sans rappel a tousjours a un an a trois ans sons de cloque bans dargent et voyages quels quils fussent et tous delictes non pugnis sans rien excepter saulf et rescout ceulx qui auroient coñiis murdre trayson rompu paix treves ou asseurances boutefeux viole ou ravy feme ou femes teust ou compost gens fait route ou assemblee conspiracion ou monopolle ou autres vilains cas sembles Enfraint la quarantaine de long temps acoustumee et observee en la d. ville par laquelle est ordonne que quant aucun debat survient entre aucuns en la d. ville les amis de lune partie ne peuvent assaillir molester ni iniuryer les amis de lautre partie que avant ne soient passez quarante jours et quiconque enfraint cest coustume doit etre justicier a mort ou bañy perpetuelement de la d. ville sil se rend fugitif."

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL LETTER MISSIVE OF QUEEN CATHARINE OF ARRAGON TO THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF TOURNAY, REMAINING AMONG THE ARCHIVES OF THAT CITY.

By the Quene.

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele And Where it hath pleased Almyghty God of his greate grace and infinite goodnes and as we verailly trust by the mediation and intercession of that blessed virgyne Marie his moder to send unto us at this tyme goode speede in the delivrance and bringing furthe of a princesse to the greate rejoising and comforte of my lorde us and all his loving soubgietts of this his realme for whiche singler grace we have especiall cause to geve high thanks lawde and praisinge unto or said maker and so we right hartely doo And forasmoche as we truste that this our goode

spede is to the comforte of you and to all other my lords trewe soubgietts of that his citie advertise you thereof by these o^r l̃res Desiring therfore and praying you to geve w^t us unto our said maker laude and praisinge and to praye for the goode helthe and pres^o vacion of the said princesse Yeven under o^r signet at my lords mano^r of Grenewiche the xviij^th daye of Ffebruary [1515-16].



To Our Trusty and welbeloved the provoste and his brethren of my lords Citie of Tourney.

XVIII. *Account of the Examination of the Mummy of* PET-MAUT-IOH-MES, *brought from Egypt by the late John Gosset, Esq. and deposited in the Museum in the Island of Jersey. By* T. J. PETTIGREW, *Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., &c.*

Read 23rd November, 1837.

Saville Row, Nov. 2, 1837.

THERE are few subjects within the range of archæological inquiry which present to us greater interest than that which arises from a consideration of the antiquities of Egypt, and particularly of those points which bear reference to the religion, the ceremonies, and the customs of the ancient Egyptians in connexion with the dissolution of the body, and the modes adopted to arrest the progress of decay. The reasons which induced them to take such extraordinary care in the preservation of the bodies of their deceased is, I believe, to be sought for in their religious opinions; and, it is most probably to be explained, upon their adoption of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. Upon this subject it is not my intention here to enlarge, as I have already treated of it in my "History of Egyptian Mummies." I am anxious, however, upon this occasion, to introduce to the Society an account of the examination of a Mummy, belonging to the Museum in the Island of Jersey, which presents to our notice some peculiarities differing from those which have been hitherto observed in the process of embalming. I owe to our respected member, my friend Sir George Staunton, intelligence of this Mummy, which was brought from Thebes by the late John Gosset, Esq. who travelled in Egypt in 1835 in company with E. Lane, Esq. the author of a most excellent work on Modern Egypt. Mr. Gosset died at Paris returning from his travels; and his entire collection of Egyptian Antiquities, consisting of several articles of great curiosity and interest, has been presented by his

father, Isaac Gosset, Esq. to the Island of Jersey, and has formed the commencement of a Museum, which promises to rise rapidly into distinction. In Mr. Gosset's Journal I find the following entry:

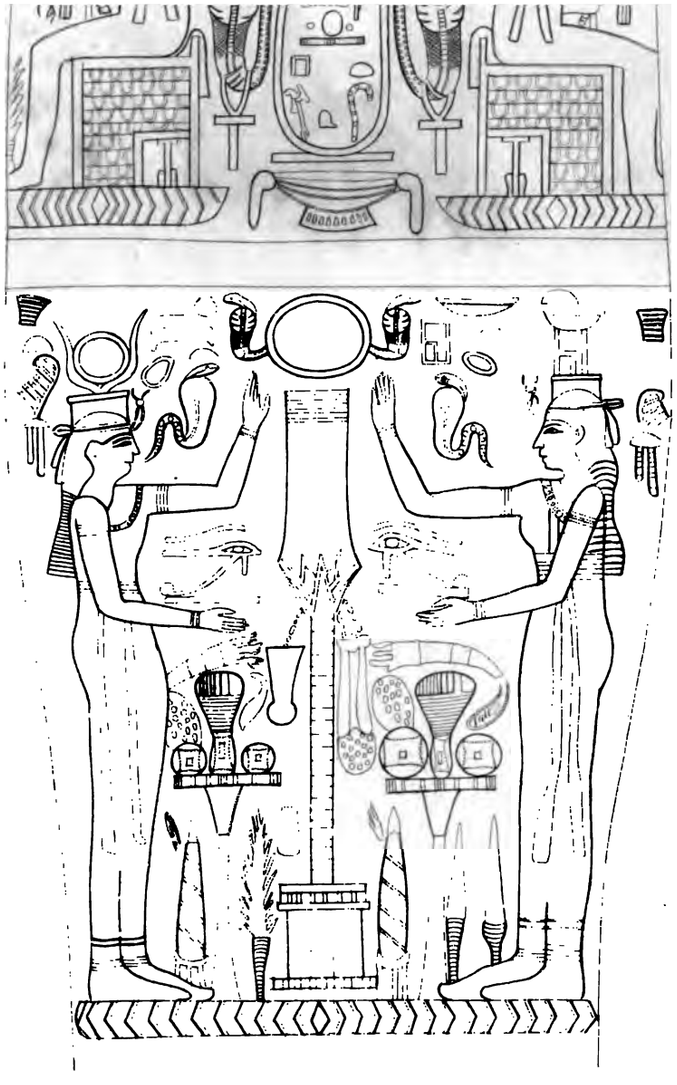
"*Thebes, May* 12, 1835. Several Fellahs, who may be called the resurrection men of Thebes, are in the habit of excavating for antiquities, which they sell to travellers in spite of the Pacha's monopoly and of his excavator, a Turk, who employs twenty or thirty boys constantly, but seldom finds any thing. A gang, composed of five, sent us word that they had found a tomb *untouched*, and said, if we wished to see it, we might come at night with one of their party. Accordingly Mr. Lane and myself went this evening. From the tomb we descended through a narrow, steep, and winding passage, into a small cavern hewn in the rock, into which we groped upon our hands and feet and found three Mummies. It was impossible here to open or examine them. We were covered with dust, and almost stifled going down the pit to the cavern, but delighted to see the manner in which the ancient Egyptians buried their dead. This style of Mummy is very ancient, being of the time of the Pharaohs; it is in two cases, each of which is beautifully painted, the first case not unlike the style of painting and subjects in the tombs, the top representing the ceiling; inside, offerings to Osiris, &c. Priests with leopard-skins, snake, jackal, and hare-headed divinities. A king's name upon a leather bandage, flowers of lotus, a garland, also a wreath round the forehead."

It appears that the Mummy, to the notice of which the present paper must necessarily be confined, was found in one of the western valleys, where Mr. Wilkinson tells us he saw a tomb bearing the name of Amunoph III. the King of the Vocal Statue; and which may fairly be considered as the most ancient catacomb hitherto discovered in those valleys. Colonel Oldfield, through Sir George Staunton, favoured me with a fac-simile of the paintings at the bottom of the inner case of the Jersey Mummy, which I am happy to lay before the Society, (see Pl. XIX.) and in which it will be seen there is a representation of the King Amunoph III. and beneath his figure cartouches, containing, in hieroglyphical characters, his name and distinction. From this circumstance it was not unreasonably conjectured that the Mummy might be that of the sovereign, although it must be remarked that the portrait or figure of the

sovereign is frequently introduced in Egyptian antiquities, serving merely to denote the period to which they belong, and not to have any special reference to an individual. Without an examination, therefore, of the hieroglyphics upon the cases, it was impossible to give an opinion as to the identity of the sovereign and the inclosed Mummy, and for this purpose, and to unroll the Mummy, I was invited to Jersey by my friend J. Hodges, Esq. The result of this examination it is now my intention to detail.

I found the Mummy inclosed, as described by Mr. Gosset, within two cases, highly ornamented and covered with hieroglyphical characters and mythological representations. These were of various colours and in high relief, being depicted upon a composition with which the whole surface of the cases had been coated. The cases were shaped in the human figure, with the lower limbs joined together. The arms were crossed, and the hands had suffered injury from being apparently sawn through, by which the emblems held by them were lost, but traces of their nature were visible on the cases, and showed them to have been the usual accompaniments of Osiris: the hook, or symbol of moderation, and the whip, or symbol of excitation. The face on these cases was painted yellow, and furnished with a long beard, somewhat turned up at the point. Lines of hieroglyphics in various colours ran in different directions along the entire length of the sides of the cases around them and across. They consisted of the customary addresses, and were as follow: 1. Consecrated to Re, lord of the upper and lower world; Atmou, lord of the two regions of the south land of Poni(?); great god, manifested in the solar abode, Osiris, who presides over the land of the West (Ement), lord of Abydus, revealer of good, regulator of lives; Isis, great mother goddess, mistress of heaven, ruler of the gods of Ement-Eri (?); ... Nepthys, great sister goddess, regent of the abodes established to all the gods :—That they will give an abode provided with bread, flesh, fowl, utensils, clothes, frankincense, with perfumes (?) all other good things, pure libations, and all other on the tables of lord of the world Ounophris, for the sake of the Osirian lady of the house (*name defaced.*)

2. That they will give abundance of bread, abundance of cordials, abundance of flesh, abundance of fowls, abundance of all other good things, pure, with all other with offering.



Representation of the bottom of the Inner Case of the Mummy of Pet-maut-iohmes.

Vol. XXVII. Plate XX. p. 364.



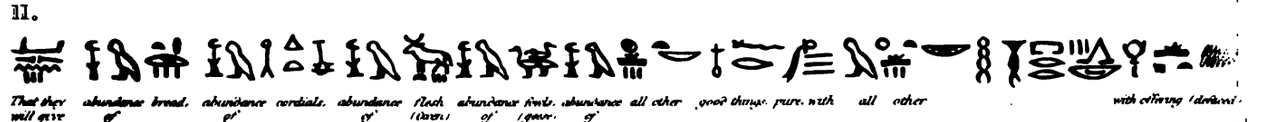
Consecrated to Re. Lord of the upper & lower world. Atmuu Lord of the land or the two regions of the South land or Punt. great God manifested in the Solar abode Osiris. who presides ever the land of the West (Amenti). Lord of Abydus.

revolver of good, regulator of lives: Isis. great Mother goddess. Mistress of Heaven Ruler of the Gods of Amenti Eri?: Nephus. great Sister of Goddess. Regent of the abodes eter-

blished to all the Gods: That they will give an abode provided with bread flesh, fowl, utensils, clothes frankincense with perfumes all other all good things. pure and all other libations

on the tables. of lord of the world Ounophris. for the sake of the Osirian Lady of the House (Name Defaced)

II.



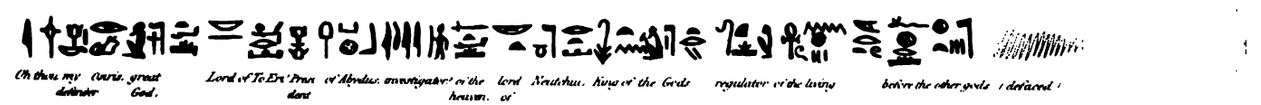
That they will give abundance of bread, abundance of cordials, abundance of flesh (Oxen) abundance of fowls (geese) abundance of all other good things. pure. with all other with offering (defaced)

III.



Oh thou my defender Osiris great God. Lord of To-Eri? President of Abydus. investigator of the heaven lord of Neutchuu. King of the Gods (defaced)

IV.



Oh thou my defender Osiris. great God. Lord of To-Eri? President of Abydus. investigator of the heaven. lord of Neutchuu. King of the Gods regulator of the living before the other gods (defaced)

V.



This is of Re Atmuu. lord of the two regions of the South land or Punt? Chief great god lord of Heaven. manifest in the Solar disks abode Lord of Restrainer of the foreign country Lord of the abode of Thoth: President of

That they will give offerings of an Abode provided with Cakes Green Corn. Frankincense. for the use of the Osirian Lady of House. Priestess of the Ammon Re. Chief of the Gods (Name defaced)

J. Basire sculp.

Lines of Hieroglyphics on the Cases of the Mummy of Pet-maut-ichmes.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 15th 1833

3. Oh! thou, my defender, Osiris, great god, lord of To-Eri (?), president of Abydus, investigator (?) of the heaven, lord of Neutchiu (?), king of the gods.

4. Oh! thou, my defender, Osiris, great god, lord of To-Eri (?), president of Abydus, investigator (?) of the heaven, lord of Neutchiu (?), king of the gods, regulator of the living before the other gods.

5. This is of Re Atmou, lord of the two regions of the south land of Poni (?), chief, great god, lord of heaven, manifest in the solar disk's abode, lord of worlds, restrainer of the Foreign Country, lord of the abode of Thoth president of That they will give offerings of an abode provided with cakes, geese, oxen, frankincense, ... for the Osirian lady of the house, Priestess for Amon-Re, chief of the gods (*name defaced*) (See Plates XIX. XX.)

These examples will suffice; they are offerings to the deities on behalf of the deceased, who in three places is designated as a priestess; and following the hieroglyphics having this signification, and in the place where the name of the individual ordinarily appears, a most careful obliteration has been made. This is clearly the effect of design, not of accident, for the varnish occupying the spaces between each hieroglyphical character that had formed the name was quite perfect, and the characters themselves had been literally *scratched out*. This circumstance tended to destroy the means of identifying the individual embalmed.

I have noticed an apparent anomaly—a yellow face and a beard. The female countenance is, I believe, without an exception always painted yellow or white, and the male red, on all cases and sarcophagi containing mummies. The beard is unquestionably a male symbol. How, then, are we to account for this singular combination? It seems to me that it may be solved thus: the yellow face denotes a female; the beard belongs to the figure of Osiris, who is judge of the dead, and president of that kingdom where the souls of the approved were to be admitted to eternal felicity; and Mr. Wilkinson, of whose acquaintance with the Egyptian mythology it is unnecessary for me to speak, says, that "every Egyptian after death was deified to a certain extent, but no one became a god; they merely bore the name and form of Osiris, a name applied in the same sense to *females*." Men and women were thus both represented after death under the form and name of Osiris, never of Isis, as the late Dr. Young had conjectured. Osiris, Mr. Wilkinson supposes to signify, in his

character of judge, the unity of the deity, and to this unity, or original essence, man returned after death, but man collectively, and no distinction of sex was maintained after the soul had quitted its material envelope. All this seems to confirm the statement given by Herodotus, who, it must be recollected, in his account of the persons employed in embalming, says, "Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὗτοι ἐπεάν σφι κομισθῇ νεκρὸς, δεικνύασι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα. καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι, τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν."—"There are certain individuals appointed for the purpose (*i. e.* embalming), and who profess that art; these persons, when any body is brought to them, show the bearers some wooden models of corpses, painted to represent the originals; the most perfect they assert to be the representation of him whose name I take it to be impious to mention (*i. e.* Osiris) in this matter."

Now the cases of the Jersey Mummy are in the representation of Osiris, and the beard is, I conceive, thus accounted for, and the Mummy belonging to them may fairly be considered as having been prepared in the very best mode of embalment. A greater difficulty, however, presents itself in the erasure of the hieroglyphics upon the cases; thus preventing all means of identifying the body as appertaining to the individual for whom the cases were made. Before I describe the Mummy, I shall say a few words upon the cases. They are of sycamore wood; and, from the style of painting with which they are ornamented, may fairly be considered as belonging to the time of the sovereign Amunoph III. depicted within them. Amunoph III. was the son of Thothmes IV. and lived two hundred years before the Trojan war. He reigned 1430 B.C. which is twenty-one years after the death of Moses, and sixty-one years posterior to the Exodus of the Israelites; so that the antiquity of the cases is very great. Interiorly and exteriorly they abound with figures of the Egyptian deities: to describe these would demand an entire essay on the Egyptian Mythology; they bear relation chiefly to the deceased, figured as Osiris, and the deities through whose intervention or intercession her admission into the mansions of the blessed was hoped to be obtained. Within the inner case or coffin was a lid placed immediately over the body of the Mummy, representing a female without any beard or Osirian character, and having a line

of hieroglyphics running down the centre, but containing no name. Upon removing this lid, the Mummy in its bandages was brought into view. It measured 5 feet 5 inches. Around the head was a garland composed of acacia and bay leaves, and the leaves and flowers of the lotus; these were strung together with much taste. Over the whole upper surface of the Mummy similar bands of leaves and lotus flowers were distributed, and a long leathern bandage, or fillet, measuring three yards and a half in length, and about one inch in breadth, extended across the shoulders, and was passed across the back and over the breast and body. At the extremities of this leather belt, which was of a red colour on its outer side and yellowish within, there are the remains of some figures which have been stamped upon them; but which time has too much obliterated to be now decyphered. They appear, however, to be the figure of a king having his cartouche over his head, probably containing his name. This was the case with the Mummy of Natsif-Amon, who died during the reign of Ramesses V.; opened a few years since at the Leeds Institution, and specimens of a similar kind are to be seen in the new Egyptian Room at the British Museum.

The outer bandage of the Mummy consisted of a fine linen sheet folded double and laced up at the back with a narrow strip of the usual mummy cloth. Beneath this wrapper were many successive layers of rollers usually not exceeding four or five yards in length. One, however, measured six yards and a quarter, and another twelve yards. They varied in size, some being much broader than others, and several of them were fringed at their extremities, and had borders, principally of a blue or green colour. Having removed upwards of fifty of these rollers, upon which I only found rudely figured, not in ink, but apparently with charcoal, a vase of libation, and a representation of the sacred Eye, I came to a second sheet extending over the whole of the body from the head to the feet. This was covered with a coating of asphaltum, which it was necessary to cut through to arrive at the Mummy, and appeared to form the division of the layers of the bandages. Dividing that part over the breast, I discovered the representation of a large scarabæus in baked earth, having been dipped into some vitrified mixture which gave to it a most brilliant green colour. This measured two inches in length and one inch and a half in breadth. Upon the under surface were six lines of hieroglyphics,

and these give the name of Pet-maut-ioh-mes. (An impression from, and a drawing of, the Scarabæus I herewith transmit. See Pl. XXI. fig. 1.) Immediately beneath the scarabæus was a figure of a hawk (see fig. 2), with extended wings, emblematical of Re, or Phra, the Sun. This measured five inches across the wings, and four inches one-eighth from the head to the extremity of the tail. In the bird's talons are the disks, the emblems of the Sun. This representation was in soft lead, and was thin and quite flexible. A quantity of the metal in a state of oxydation was covering the whole of its surface.

Around the neck, close up to the head, was a necklace composed of nineteen pieces. These were of various kinds, and of different materials: a sceptre in green porcelain, another in blue, an emblem of the soul in blue porcelain, another in a dark-coloured material, and a sacred eye of the same kind; an emblem of stability in green porcelain; two tablets, one of Thoth, the Egyptian Mercury, in basalt, the other of Anubis, the jackal-headed divinity, in jasper; a vase, a small scarabæus in dark-blue porcelain, a blue glass bead, a geometrical form in basalt, four pendants in lapis lazuli and other substances, and an emblem of the soul, another of the sacred eye, and one of the serpent Uræus with the disk in mother of pearl. These were all strung together by thread, and passed round the neck, at the back part of which it was secured by a thick bundle of threads tied in a knot. Beneath the necklace was a bandage forming a kind of cravat, having at its extremity a profusion of fringe, and fastened by a knot. Upon the removal of this the throat was found to have been divided across, and in the space thus occasioned a quantity of earthy matter was found. The face was now examined, and it presented that of a male, having a short beard on the chin and upper lip, of a reddish brown colour, which was probably occasioned by the materials used in the embalming.

The place of the natural eyes was supplied by artificial ones of ivory and a black composition, well executed and admirably placed within the eyelids. The cheek of the left side was rather larger than the other, the reason of which was afterwards discovered. The features of the face were all perfect, and the expression good; no difficulty arose in the removal of the bandages; the nose was not at all disfigured, and the septum was perfect; but the nostrils, as well as the hollow places within

Emblem of Phre & the Scarabæus, found upon the Breast of the Mummy of Pet-maut-iehmes.



Fig 2.

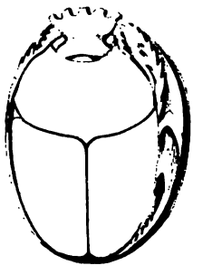


Fig 1.

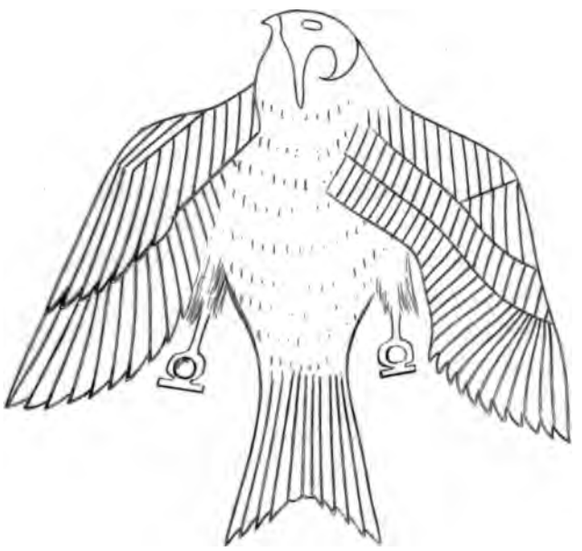
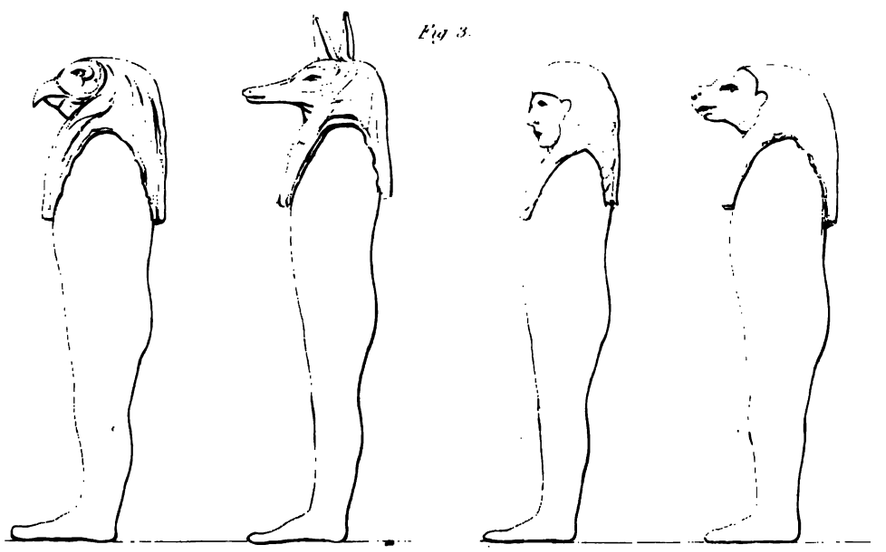


Fig 3.



Kebhnsnof. *Smof.* *Amset* *Hapee.*

Published by the Society ... London April 29th 1838

the ears, were filled up with earthy matter like to that which was found in the throat.

The hinder part of the skull having been removed, to observe the method that had been adopted with regard to the extraction of the brain, a variety presented itself, of which I know no instance on record, nor can I hear from any of my friends who have visited Egypt, or are familiar with these subjects, of any thing like the mode which had been employed in this individual embalment. The dura mater, or lining membrane, was perfect in all its processes, quite dry and semi-transparent, and it was necessary to cut through this before the contents of the head could be examined, which were found to consist of earthy matter having a few portions of linen cloth holding some spicy substance.[a] The brain had been entirely removed; but not in the usual way, for the ethmoid bone was perfect, and for a long time I was not able to observe any opening through which it had been extracted, and the earthy matter introduced. By a close examination of the incision in the throat, however, I found that some cutting instrument must have been carried up along the anterior surfaces of the bodies of the cervical vertebræ, and thence carried through what anatomists call the *foramen lacerum in basi cranii* on the left side of the head, by which operation the foramen had been somewhat enlarged, and through which this part of the process of embalming appears in this case, unlike to all others I have seen or read of, to have been effected. The difficulty in passing the earthy matter had occasioned the apparent swelling of the left cheek; the larynx and bone of the tongue had been pushed towards the right side.

The body was now the subject of examination; it was easily brought into view, the rollers coming away with the greatest facility. The incision in the left flank, four inches in length, had been practised agreeably to the account of Herodotus and other writers, and over this incision was placed a square portion

[a] Upon analysis of this substance 100 parts were found to consist of:

Ligneous dust, containing a little aromatic extractive matter, soluble in water	42
Carbonate of lime, with some alumina, and oxide of iron	43
Silica	15
	100

of lead four inches in length and three inches and one-eighth in breadth, and impressed upon it was a representation of the sacred eye. This being removed, the body was found to be filled with the dust of woods having an aromatic odour, and the viscera were folded up in four several portions, in each of which the representation of a deity four inches and one-eighth in length, and one inch and one-eighth in breadth, was contained. These were made of earth, and covered with wax, similar to some I have in my possession, which were taken from a Greek Mummy, and said by Signor Passalacqua to be peculiar to the embalming of that period. I had, previously to this examination, ventured to suggest that the deities represented upon the four Canopic vases frequently discovered alongside the Mummies, and reported to contain the viscera, would be found to be specially appropriated to particular parts. Neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus give any information as to what is done with the viscera after their extraction from the body. Porphyry has handed down to us a prayer, said to have been uttered by the embalmers in the name of the deceased, entreating the divine powers to receive the soul into the region of the good, and casting into the river Nile the organs which he supposes may have offended the gods and done injury to the soul, by eating or drinking unworthily. This account receives something like confirmation from Plutarch; but it cannot be admitted to be even probable, for it is inconsistent with all that has been observed in the preparation of the Mummies, in which the chief object of the Egyptians appears uniformly to have been to preserve every part of the body, and in as entire a state as possible, upon the success of which we may presume the likelihood of its being re-occupied by its former spirit, or soul, would be promoted. We have so little precise information as to the Mummies furnished with Canopic vases, and the latter have ever been so much sought after and so eagerly removed, that it is impossible to say whether they contained the embalmed viscera of the body, by the side of which they have been placed, or not; they have often been found to hold the viscera, and there is therefore reasonable grounds for presuming that to be the case. I have in some instances found the viscera embalmed and placed among the bandages; it was the case in the Mummy of Kannop, at University College. They were within the body in the greater number of Mummies I have unrolled, and always in four portions. This would seem to correspond with the arrangement of the four Ca-

nopic vases, and it is remarkable that in the Jersey Mummy each of the four portions had inclosed within it one of the deities represented on these vases. They are the genii of the Amenti, or Amunti, which in Coptic exactly corresponds with Hades in Greek. It signifies both the *receiver* and *giver*. Mr. Wilkinson, therefore, says it was a temporary abode, and it will be remarked that this agrees with the idea of the Egyptians returning again to the earth, after a stated period. They may be arranged thus:

1. Kebhnsnof or Netsonof, with the hawk's head.
2. Smof, or Smautf, with the jackal's head.
3. Hapée, with the head of the cynocephalus.
4. Amset, with the human head. (See fig. 3, Pl. XXI.)

The portion of bandage in which Kebhnsnof[b] was found contained the liver and gall bladder; that with Smof, the lungs and heart; that with Hapée held the small intestines; and that with Amset the stomach and large intestines. The kidneys, with their ureters entire, were loose among the wood dust, and had no bandage whatever. The Egyptians divided the human body into thirty-six parts, each of which they believed to be under the particular government of one of the decans or aërial demons, who presided over the triple divisions of the twelve signs; and Origen says, that when any part of the body was diseased, a cure was obtained by invoking the demon to whose province it belonged. A kind of theological anatomy has thus been made out by the late M. Champollion from the Great Funereal Ritual, or Book of the Manifestations. This is expressed on various Mummy cases in hieroglyphical characters; and may we not in this trace the first attempt to assign the different parts of the human body to the several planets, which has been continued down to the present day in the favoured and favourite astrological almanack of "Francis Moore, Physician"?[c]

[b] Snof signifies "blood."

[c] Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, whose attainments in hieroglyphical literature are by no means inconsiderable, and whose zeal in the research is correspondent to his ability, has kindly shown me an ancient sycamore case, shaped in the human form, upon which several of the parts of the body are appropriated to particular deities:—these in a great measure accord with what has been drawn by Champollion from the Papyrus MSS. The subject is deserving of further investigation.

To return to the Mummy: The limbs were separately bandaged; but the rollers were not applied to each finger or toe separately, the whole of the hand or foot was inclosed within the bandage. The nails were altogether perfect, long, and of a filberd shape. They were stained of a dark colour. The whole body was greatly emaciated, and the lungs carried evidences of a tuberculated condition, so that it is extremely probable the individual died of phthisis. From the appearance of the diplöe of the skull, the teeth, &c. it would appear to be a person of about the middle period of life.

The erasure of the hieroglyphics composing the name of the individual upon the cases was performed at a time when that language was generally understood—it must have been done by the Egyptians. The priests, there is little reason to question, made a traffic of the tombs. Mr. Wilkinson found the tomb of Ramesses VII. had undergone many changes; the stucco, on which its present representations are figured, is placed over sculptures of a much earlier period, and he has suggested the probability that, when a family became extinct, so that no one remained to pay the customary claims for the liturgies and other services by which the revenue of the priests was maintained, the tomb was re-sold to another occupant to indemnify them; and this exchange does not appear to have been confined to the walls of the tomb, but extended even to the sarcophagi and wooden coffins contained within them, for the name of the first inmate has been found to be obliterated, and a second substituted in its place. The names on the walls are constantly found to be erased, and the spaces for names often left in a blank condition, the sale of the building not having been yet effected. I thought I could observe in one part of the outer case of the Jersey Mummy something like an attempt to figure some hieroglyphical letters over the place where the name was formerly introduced; the hieroglyphics were of a different character, they were written in plain red upon a white ground, whilst the original in the same line of inscription had colours invariably intermixed with them. The new hieroglyphics were, however, not sufficiently distinct to be decyphered. It appears, therefore, that some circumstances, of the nature of which, at this distant period, it is difficult to offer any probable conjecture, had occurred to occasion the obliteration of the name of a priestess of great rank in the early times of Amunoph III. and placed within her case or coffin, is the Mummy of PET-MAUT-IOH-MES, "man, deceased," as the hiero-

glyphics on the scarabæus taken from his breast demonstrates. The period at which this exchange took place it is not easy to determine; but, judging from the mode of embalment, I should be very much disposed to place it in the Greek period, probably in the time of the Ptolemies, for (excepting the process adopted in the extraction of the brain, and the substitution of earthy matter within the skull, which I observed before, and of which there is no record whatever to be found,) the mode of its embalment corresponds to those in which the names have been decidedly of a Greek character, and upon the cases of which various circumstances would seem to connect the Mummy with that people.

FURTHER EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX.

This Plate represents the painting at the bottom of the inner coffin: at the upper part are two figures of the snake-headed god, the guardian of the Gates of Amenti. Beneath these a figure typical of the heavens, followed by the winged snake and disk denoting Hor-Hat, or Agathodæmon. Succeeding these, above and on the sides of the large centre figure, are, on the right, a winged animal with a human face, which is not represented in profile, as ordinarily occurs, and around this figure hieroglyphics, the purport of which is, "The great God, Lord of the West;" on the opposite side the hawk, as Horus. On the right, beneath the winged animal with the human face, is another snake-headed god, and opposite to it a different kind of snake-headed deity, furnished with large wings, having a disk over its head, and representing probably Eilethya or Lucina. At the right shoulder of the large figure is a deity having emblems of Osiris, and beneath this is an unusual representation of a vulture furnished with an asp's head, being one of the deities of Amenti. Opposite to these figures are representations of Anubis as a jackal, and Anubis seated holding Osirian emblems, and before him stands the snake-headed deity beside a table furnished with offerings. At the lower part of the large figure, on the left, is a deity of Amenti, with a helmet of Lower Egypt, and holding Osirian emblems; and at the feet of the figure, in a kneeling position, is placed the deity Netpe The large figure in the centre appears to be the representation of a king deified, or under the form of Osiris. It is furnished with a royal head-dress, and has the beard of a deity pointed and turned up at the extremity; not square at the end, as is the case in the beards of sovereigns. This seems to be the King Amunoph under the form and figure of Osiris. Beneath the pedestal on which he stands, and in what may be called the third compartment of the picture, is a cartouche, bearing in hieroglyphics the name of Amunoph; and on each side of this is a figure of Hapee, one of the four genii of the Amenti. The lower division of the representation gives Netpe, the mother of the gods, on the right, and Nephthys, the sister goddess, on the left; each furnished with tables of offerings of fruits, cakes, and wine.

XIX. *On the Measures taken for the Apprehension of Sir Thomas de Gournay, one of the Murderers of King Edward the Second, and on their final Issue: in a Letter to* HUDSON GURNEY, *Esq. F.R.S., V.P. from the Rev.* JOSEPH HUNTER, *F.S.A.*

Read 7th December, 1837.

Torrington Square, November 20, 1837.

DEAR SIR,

AMONG the ancient compotuses in the Exchequer which have been lately brought to light by the exertions of the Honourable Board of Commissioners on the Public Records, are several which relate to the measures taken by King Edward the Third to bring to justice Sir Thomas de Gournay, the principal actor, as was alleged, in the murder of his father in Berkeley Castle: and as they place the circumstances of his capture, and his ultimate fate, in a light entirely different from that in which they are placed by the old Chroniclers De la Moor and Walsingham, and by modern historians, who, in addition to the Chronicles, have had the benefit of the letters relating to this affair which are printed in the Fœdera, it has occurred to me, that it might be acceptable to the Society of Antiquaries if I were to lay a summary of the contents of these documents before it.

It appears by the Pleas of the Crown before the King in his full Parliament at Westminster, held on the Monday next after the feast of Saint Catharine the Virgin, in the 4th Edward III. (1330), when Sir Thomas de Berkeley was called to answer touching the death of the late deposed King, that the King had been committed to the keeping of himself and John Maltravers, in whose custody he was at the time of his death. Sir Thomas de Berkeley defends himself from the charge of any participation in the murder, alleging, that at the time of the King's death he was lying ill at Bradley, and was so extremely ill

that his life was despaired of: but he admits that he placed as keepers of the King, and as ministers under him, the two persons, namely Thomas de Gournay and William de Ocle, who had been adjudged in Parliament to be guilty of the murder of the King, and on that account Berkeley is not released, but committed to Ralph de Nevil, the Steward of the King's household. (*Rolls*, ii. 57.)

In the same Parliament judgment was passed on Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, "et autre de sa covyne," namely, Simon de Bereford, John Maltravers, Bogo de Bayous, John Deveroil, Thomas de Gournay, and William de Ocle. Mortimer and Bereford were in custody, and both adjudged to death. The former was executed on November 29, in the 4th of Edward III. (1330), and Bereford on the Monday next after the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle following.[a] The rest were also adjudged to death; but not being in custody, rewards were offered for their apprehension. Only Gournay and Ocle are expressly charged with the murder of the King. The rest, even including Maltravers, are considered as convict of other treasons and felonies. The reward offered for the apprehension of Gournay was 100*l.* if brought alive, and 100 marks if brought dead. For Ocle the reward proposed was 100 marks if brought alive, and 40*l.* if dead.[b]

So far from the printed Rolls of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 52-54. It is at this point that I propose to take up the thread of the life, and adventures (so I

[a] Bereford had made preparation for a flight, by depositing a treasure valued at no less a sum than 2000*l.* in the care of Andrew de la Done, Prior of Takkeley, and Nicholas the valet of the said Prior, at the Prior's house in Silver Street, in the ward of Cripplegate. It consisted in vessels of gold and silver, in sterling money to the amount of 700*l.* and in florins valued at 268*l.* sterling. They were brought soon after the arrest of Mortimer and Bereford and the committal of them to the Tower, by one Richard, clerk to Simon de Bereford, whose surname (cognomen) says the record is unknown, to be kept for Bereford's use, to be carried beyond sea, or elsewhere at his pleasure, if he escaped or were delivered out of prison. It was seized by the King.

[b] Gournay is throughout considered as the principal malefactor, or at least the person of highest rank concerned in the deed. There is much to be found concerning him in Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, vol i. and ii.; in the Rolls of Parliament; and in the Fœdera. He had been of the party of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, on whose defeat and death his lands were forfeited, but restored in 1 Edward III. *Fœdera*, 689 and 690. The chief of his lands lay in the county of Somerset.

may call them) of Sir Thomas de Gournay, having first shewn what the ancient chroniclers and the modern historians have related concerning him.

The only contemporary chronicler who has given any account of the subsequent fate of Gournay is Sir Thomas de la Moor. His account is plain and consistent, containing facts, about which it would appear that there could hardly be any dispute, and surmises, which the known circumstances of the case render sufficiently probable. "Proditorios ministros, scilicet Thomam de Gorney et Johannem de Maltravers, persecutio Isabellæ et Episcopi Herefordensis (ut proinde viderentur manus innoxias et mentes habuisse) utlegavit, et in exilium egit. Thomas de Gorney Massiliam fugitivus clanculo post triennium cognitus, captus, et versus Angliam reductus, pœnam pro demeritis recepturus, in mari fuit decapitatus, ne fortè magistros et magnos prælatos, et quam plures alios de regno sibi suum nefas monuisse, et in illud sibi assensum præbuisse accusasset. Alter vero Maltravers partibus Teutonicorum agens pœnitentiam, diu latuit." p. 603.

Walsingham has merely copied De la Moor: "Dominus Johannes Maltravers et Thomas Gorney timentes pœnas solvere pro morte regis, repente fugerunt. Sed dictus Thomas fuit post tres annos notus et captus apud Marciliam, et remissus versus Angliam, pœnam pro demeritis recepturus; qui tamen illuc non pervenit, sed in mari decapitatus fuit, et sub quodam colore ne forte magnas personas et magnos prælatos Angliæ de consensu necis regiæ et conniventia accusaret." p. 128.

I have not found that any other Latin chronicler has added any thing to the statement of these two writers, who are indeed the chief and almost only authorities for the events of the reign of Edward the Second. Chroniclers since the invention of printing have done little more than translate what they found in De la Moor and Walsingham. Thus Barnes, the latest of those who lived before the publication of the Fœdera, says: "Sir Thomas Gournay, three years after, being taken at Marseilles, in France, and delivered up to be brought over for England, in order to his trial, was beheaded on the sea, before he came hither, by private instructions, as was thought, from some grandees at court, whose interest it was that he should not be brought to examination." p. 23.

The publication in the reign of Queen Anne, of even that small selection from the national records, which is known by the name of Rymer's Fœdera, forms an important era in English Historiography. Several documents relat-

ing to the pursuit of Gournay were printed in that collection, taken from the Chancery Rolls at the Tower. What effect they had on the history of this affair may be seen by the two following quotations from Rapin and Carte: The former says, "Three years after, Gurney was seized at Burgos (it is no longer Marseilles), and by order of the King of Castile carried to Bayonne, from whence Edward commanded him to be conveyed to England. But by some practices, not fully cleared in history, he was beheaded at sea." i. 408. Carte's account is this: He was "seized in A. D. 1331 at Burgos, in Castille, and delivered to the Seneschal of Guienne, or Mayor of Bayonne, and put on ship-board to be brought to England; but was beheaded at sea on some pretence or other, lest he should discover certain prelates and nobles that were consenting to the King's murder."

The authority of De la Moor and Walsingham, whose information in this particular we shall see to be entirely undeserving of credit, has influenced later historians down to our own time. Mr. Turner yields himself so implicitly to them, that he has entirely overlooked the testimony borne by the few fragments of record evidence printed in the Fœdera. He says that Gournay "was taken at Marseilles, and beheaded on his way to England, that he might not impeach his employers." ii. 157. Dr. Lingard, like Rapin and Carte, has endeavoured to combine the facts of both in a consistent narrative: "What became of Ogle I know not. Gournay fled into Spain, and was apprehended by the magistrates of Burgos. At the request of the King of England he was examined by them in the presence of an English envoy. What disclosures he made were kept secret: but we may suppose that they implicated persons of high rank, as the messengers who had him in charge, received orders to behead him at sea, on his way to England." ii. 552. It is perhaps not matter of surprise, though it may be of regret, that the Fœdera does contain a document on another subject indeed, but containing a clause relating to Gournay, which has not been allowed its due weight even by Dr. Lingard, and which is in fact inconsistent with the account which he has given of this transaction. It is found, II. ii. 870; but I shall have occasion to advert to it hereafter. Vast and beneficial as hath been the influence of the Fœdera on our national history, it is so truly a work of mere fragments, that the most careful historians must be constantly under the temptation to overlook or to suspect evidence which it

presents to them, where is a seeming inconsistency with other evidence in the same work, arising from the want of some connecting link which the chain of evidence has lost.

While I make these remarks, it is with the feeling that other evidence may still be discovered which may add other particulars to those which the evidence before me enables me now to exhibit.

The particulars of the capture and death of Gournay, as the evidence now stands, are these:

On December 3rd, 4th Edward III. (1330), four days after the execution of Mortimer, and above three years after the death of King Edward II., writs were issued to the Sheriffs of counties, and to the Mayors and Bailiffs of certain ports, commanding them to arrest any of the following persons, who were accused of certain crimes, and who, it was supposed, were about to leave the realm, namely, John Maltravers, Thomas de Gournay, John Wyard, William de Exon, late Constable of the Castle of Wallingford, John Deveroill, and William de Ocle. (*Fœd.* ii. 801.)

And on December 15th writs tested at Westminster on that day, not in the Fœdera, were issued to the Sheriffs, commanding them to take into their hands the manors, lands, tenements, goods and chattels of John Maltravers, Thomas de Gournay, Bogo de Baiocis, John Deverel, and William de Ocle, adherents of Roger Mortimer, the enemy of the late King and the realm, who having committed divers felonies and excesses against the peace of the King and kingdom, had clandestinely withdrawn themselves, and not appeared to be judged according to the customs of the realm.

Also on the 23rd of April, in the 5th Edward III. (1331), a writ, not printed, was addressed to John de Staunford and Thomas de Gargrave, commanding them to examine the contents of a chest and certain casks which Gournay, when he was Constable of the Castle of Bristol, had sent to the neighbouring abbey of Keynsham, there to be safely kept for him: and, on May 17 following, another writ issued to William de Bath, clerk, commanding him to open the chest, and to sell the contents of it and of the casks in the presence of the Mayor of Bristol.

About this time the King received information of the country to which Gournay had withdrawn himself, and at the same time that he was in custody

there. In the Liberate Rolls is a writ dated June 23, in 5th Edward III. (1331), addressed to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, directing the payment of 50*l.* to one Ferandus Ivaynes de Greynoun, for his expenses in coming from Spain and returning thither, he having brought information of the capture of Sir Thomas de Gournay: and on the Gascon Rolls is another writ, dated on the same day, addressed to the Constable of Bourdeaux, directing the payment of 300*l.* to John Martin de Leyna, for his great expense and labour in the capture of Thomas de Gournay, our enemy and traitor, in Spain, and in his detention there, which 300*l.* were to be paid to him on the delivery of his captive at Bayonne. Both these writs are in the Fœdera, p. 820 and 821.

This intelligence had been received before the 20th day of May; for on that day the King addressed a letter, which is also in the Fœdera, to Alphonso King of Castille, informing him that he has received information from various persons, that Sir Thomas de Gournay, who is accused of the death of the late King, and has fled from judgment, had been arrested at Burgos, within his dominions, and is now detained in prison under his authority: he gives him thanks for so acceptable a service, and asks that the King would cause Gournay to be delivered to John de Haustede, his Seneschal of Gascony, or to persons deputed by him, in order that he might be brought to England. On the same day the King wrote to the Mayor, Eschevins, Consuls, and community of the city of Burgos, reciting the same facts, and praying them to deliver up Gournay to John de Haustede, or his deputies. (*Fœd.* 819.)

Eight days after the King wrote a second letter to the King of Castille, and also to the authorities of Burgos, repeating his request that Gournay might be delivered to the Seneschal of Gascony, but also requesting that he might be examined touching the charges, by the authorities of Burgos, or persons deputed by them, in the presence of Bernard Pelegrym his serjeant-at-arms, who was sent for that purpose, and who was no doubt the bearer of these letters. Whatever confession the prisoner might make, and whoever they might be whom he might implicate, he requests that a faithful report may be made of it under the common seal of the city, and delivered to his said serjeant. (*Fœd.* 820.)

And on the same 28th of May the King wrote to Sir John de Leynham, the Chamberlain of the King of Spain, intimating that he had heard of Gour-

nay's arrest by him, and of his being detained in prison, and requesting that he would cause him to be taken to Bayonne, there to be delivered to the Mayor, Jurates, and probi homines of the city, who would receive instructions from Egidius de Ispannia, whom he calls "dilectus valettus noster," concerning the bringing him to England. (*Fœd.* 820.) This John de Leynham seems to be the same person in whose favour the warrant for the payment of 300*l.* was issued, although the designation of him on the Close Rolls differs from that on the Liberate Rolls. The King wrote at the same time to the Mayor, &c. of Bayonne concerning the receipt of the prisoner.

No information has been obtained respecting the journey of Bernard Pelegrym, nor have any confessions, if made, of the prisoner been preserved. Pelegrym's duties seem to have been confined to the confession; but to Egidius de Ispannia was committed the duty of gaining possession of the prisoner, and conveying him to England. On the 30th of May, by another writ, also in the Fœdera, 820, addressed to all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, Ministers, masters of vessels, mariners, and other faithful, as well within liberties as without, they are commanded to render every assistance to the said Egidius who is sent to bring to England Thomas de Gournay. And on the 8th of June following, Edward addressed the King of Navarre, whose name is lost on the roll, but who must have been Philip the Third, entreating that he would give safe conduct to the persons who might pass through his dominions taking Gournay to the city of Bayonne. (*Fœd.* 820.)

Egidius set out on this service from Saint Edmundsbury, where the King then was, on May 31st, 1331; and on his return he delivered into the Exchequer an account of the expenses of his journey, in which are several important particulars.

He did not leave England till the 11th of June, on which day he crossed to Whitsand. In four days he reached Paris, where he was detained four days more, waiting for a letter from the King to the King of Spain. He was ten days in going to Bourdeaux, and there he remained seven days. When he left Bourdeaux his first object was to obtain an interview with the King of Navarre. After many days' search he found him at Tudela, and remaining a short time with him proceeded to Burgos. He gives no account of any thing which passed at Burgos: but it is quite clear that Gournay was not delivered

up; for the next item in the account relates to his proceeding from Burgos to "Bitoria" (Vittoria) with the King's letter to "John Martyn de Lene" for the delivery of the body of Gournay, from whence he returned to Burgos. It now becomes quite evident from these accounts, that the authorities in Spain were by no means willing to comply with the request of the King of England, though so urgently made, and in a case in which it might be supposed that all the sovereigns of Europe would have been interested, to say nothing of the natural feeling of horror at a crime so peculiarly atrocious. Egidius had to seek the King of Spain. Through bad information he went first to Valla de Leet (Valladolid), expecting to find the King there, but being in this disappointed he proceeded to Madrich (Madrid), where the King then was. He remained at Madrid not less than thirty days. When the King removed to Avilla, Egidius accompanied him. Not less than fifteen days were spent there; and the King going to Segovia, Egidius went also, and was there not less than another thirty days. All this time he was amused with expectation of the coming of John Martyn, and this expectation continued while he followed the court to Coylla (Cuella), where he spent thirteen days, and to Valladolid, where he was twenty days.

In this manner the whole winter was spent, Gournay still lying in prison at Burgos.

At length the King must have consented to deliver the prisoner to him, or Egidius must have so understood him; for we next find him proceeding from Valladolid to Bourdeaux, for the purpose of obtaining the three hundred pounds which were to be paid for the delivery of Gournay. The money was to be paid at Pampeluna. Two and twenty days were consumed in this expedition; but on his return to Spain, he discovered that the prisoner had found means of making his escape.

Egidius seems to have transmitted intelligence to England that the prisoner was in his hands before he was actually in possession, for in no other way can we account for a document printed in the Fœdera, 832, from the Gascon Rolls, which is a letter addressed to the Mayor, Jurates, and probi homines of Bayonne, dated February 13, and there placed in the 6th of the King (1332), commanding them to deliver the body of Gournay, then in prison in their city, to Peter Bernard de Pynsole, to be by him brought to England.

The attention of Egidius was now turned to the pursuit and recovery of the fugitive. He went into Arragon, and spent nearly a month in a fruitless search, after which he proceeded to Burgos, to inqure into the manner in which the escape had been effected. He there found that, though the principal criminal had escaped, his valet remained behind, and was still in prison in that city. This was John Tilly. Nearly a month was spent in endeavours to obtain possession of Tilly. In this he succeeded; and we next find him traversing Navarre, with Tilly in his custody, on his way into Gascony. At the town of Olyt he met, by chance as it appears, with another of the minor actors in this affair, namely Robert Lynel, on whom he seizes. He deposited both at Castrum Stellæ (Estella?); and he then set himself a second time to endeavour the recovery of Gournay. Another month is devoted to this search; but having no success, he deposits Tilly in the Castrum Mallionis, in Gascony, and returns by sea to England. He landed at Dover on the 17th of June 1332, having been absent on this service 372 days.

Such is the remarkable history of this mission, as it is to be gathered from the items of an account containing his claims on the Exchequer, which are very moderate, amounting to no more than 44*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* The part respecting Tilly and Lynel might be illustrated from documents in the Fœdera; but of these I shall notice only one. Tilly we have seen was carried forward into Gascony, while Lynel remained in Navarre. There is in the Fœdera a letter from the Close Rolls, dated June 25, 6th Edward III. (1332), addressed to Philip King of Navarre, desiring him to deliver the said Lynel, whom Egidius de Ispannia had arrested in his dominions, and who was then in the custody of Henry Lord of Soilly, to the person who is the bearer of the letter.

Egidius appears to have lost no credit by the ill success of his mission. Immediately on his return to England, he was employed in the pursuit of other persons who had been concerned in the death of King Edward. The writ, commanding all Sheriffs and others to assist him in this second commission, dated July 1, 6th Edward III. (1332), is in the Fœdera, 840; and, corresponding with it, is an account in the Exchequer of what was done by him. As this does not relate to Gournay, of whose place of retreat we shall hear immediately, I shall be brief in my notices of it, but it contains some facts too intimately connected with this subject, and too much unknown, to be passed over, so convenient an opportunity of noticing them being presented.

On July 25 he took at Rochester William de Kingsclere, accused of the King's death, whom he delivered to Ralph de Cromwell, Constable of the Tower of London. On September 8 he took Sir Richard de Well, accused of the same crime, at Weston, near Northampton, and brought him to London, but he was afterwards committed to William de Elland, Constable of the Castle of Nottingham. On January 31st he took John le Spicer, under the same charge, at London, and delivered him to John Hamont, one of the Sheriffs. On the 9th of February he went abroad. He travelled in various parts of France in search of fugitives, from whence he crossed into Spain, and made a second arrest of John Tilly at Burgos on June 10. On August 20, he delivered him to Raymund de Meyncent, Constable of Castrum Mallionis, in Gascony. It would seem that he had been released, or had made his escape.

King Edward the Third was not to be diverted from his purpose of gaining possession of Gournay, by the lucky escape which the prisoner had effected, when just on the point of being delivered up. We have nothing to show by what channel information was communicated to him of the place to which Gournay had withdrawn himself. But as early as the 16th of January 1333, he had learned that the fugitive was at Naples, and that there he had been arrested at the suit of William de Cornwall, who was probably an emissary of the King's sent in pursuit of him. On that day the King being at York, delivered instructions to a knight of that county, Sir William de Thweng, to proceed to Naples, and to bring Gournay to England. We have no writs, letters of credence, or other documents relating to this expedition in the Fœdera, and only one allusion to it, which will be noticed hereafter: but we need no better evidence than the account which Thweng rendered of the expenses of his mission, a document of which the following is the title:

"Particulæ Compoti Willielmi de Tweng militis, euntis in obsequium Regis ad partes Seciliæ pro quibusdem negociis Regis in curia Domini Roberti Regis Seciliæ de Naples expediendis mense Januarii anno VII. Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu, per breve Regis: videlicet ad querendum et in Angliam ducendum Thomam de Gournai militem rectatum de morte Regis Edwardi patris Regis nunc, attachiatum ad sectam cujusdem Willielmi de Cornewayl apud Naples in curia Roberti Regis Seciliæ."

Thweng proceeded to Nice, from whence he crossed by sea to the port of

Pisa, where he hired horses, which took him to Pisa, and he proceeded by the same mode of travelling to Naples. Here the first items in the account are for the purchase of certain armour: next of a silver cup which was presented to Sir John de la Hay, the Seneschal of the King of Sicily. This cost twenty-five florins, equal to 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* sterling. He presented seven florins to the porter and chamberlain of the King and Queen of Sicily. The next items show that Gournay was in his hands: "Item, pro indumentis ad usum domini Thomæ Gournay VI flor." then for linen and shoes bought for him, and finally, "pro lecto habendo ad usum ejusdem Thomæ in carcere." He then charges for things bought for the use of William de Cornwall, and for presents to the servants of John de la Haye, and to the valets of the King's Admiral.

He freighted a ship at Naples for the port of Agmort (Aigues-mortes) which cost him 400 florins. Aigues-mortes is an obscure, and now greatly decayed, port in Languedoc, not far from Montpellier. Whether Thweng and his prisoner landed there seems doubtful, as we find them very soon at Coloure, another port more to the south in the neighbourhood of Perpignan, where they purchased horses, mules, and saddles, as if there they began to travel by land.

But at Coloure they met with an unexpected interruption. It was no business of Thweng, in drawing up this account, to give a history of his mission, but only to account for the charges which he made. All therefore which we have in the account itself, respecting this interruption, is, that six florins were paid, "pro deliberatione sua habenda, cum ille et omnes qui cum illo attachiati fuerunt apud Coloure;" and again thirty-two florins at Bolon on the same account.

But a satisfactory and clear light is thrown upon this interruption, by a letter in the Fœdera, 870, dated October 6, 1333. It is addressed to Alphonso, King of Arragon, and was written soon after the return of Thweng. It relates to certain claims which the heirs of Berengerius de la Tone had upon England; and in the course of it, the King thanks the King of Arragon for having set at liberty William de Thweng, who, travelling through his dominions, having in his custody a certain flagitious person called Thomas de Gournay, had been arrested by the heirs aforesaid. These unexpected correspondencies in documents, different in their origin and character, and preserved in different departments, give a confidence which a single document or a single chronicler might fail to inspire.

This accident would probably occasion the détour which we now find that the party made. Coloure is in Roussillon, and it was, no doubt, the intention of Thweng to proceed with as much dispatch as possible to Bayonne or Bourdeaux; but, instead of this, he passed into Catalonia, going southward almost as far as Tarragona. A place called Bolon is the only place named in the account after he left Coloure, till we find him at Mount Blaunk, a small town about four leagues north of Tarragona. Here he and his charge arrived under the conduct of two officers, one of whom is styled Vicarius Bolon, and the other the King's Herald. At Mount Blaunk they were delayed by the illness of Gournay. There is an entry of thirty-nine florins paid to physicians, and for medicines for his use. There is also a charge of two florins paid to the minstrels of the King of Arragon[e] while they were at Mount Blaunk. Nor did the civility of King Alphonso end here, for he allowed one of his own servants to conduct the party through his dominions on their way to Bayonne.

No circumstance is noticed of this part of the journey, and when we next find them they have traversed Arragon, crossed the Pyrenees, and are at Sordes, a little town on the Gave de Pau, within a short distance of Bayonne. Here they hire a vessel, in which they proceed down the river to Bayonne.

We are now fast approaching the close of this narrative. At Bayonne Gournay, who must have been harassed in body and mind, was again suffering extremely from sickness. He had the assistance of two physicians, to whom twenty florins were paid for their attendance upon him. Thirty-two florins were paid for medicine, sums which show that there was a serious intention to save him if possible. *He died at Bayonne.* "Item, pro quadam navi pro corpore dicti Thomæ tunc mortui ducendo de Bayon usque Burdeux xxvii flor." "Item pro corpore dicti Thomæ mortui prima vice præparando xvi flor." "Item pro eodem corpore preparando alia vice xviii flor." Two notarial instruments, doubtless relating to the circumstances of the death, were drawn up, one at Bayonne and the other at Bourdeaux.

The body was brought to England. The vessel touched at Sandwich for

[e] Thus I confidently translate the "Item, menestrallis Regis Arragoniæ," of the record; though "menestrallus" seems to have been sometimes used for any officer in a household. The other is its more usual acceptation; and the word "serviens" is immediately afterwards applied to another officer of the King of Arragon.

provisions, and then proceeded onward to Tynemouth, the King being then at Berwick. On the 7th of July 1333, Thweng presented himself to the King, to give an account of his mission. His charges amounted to 350*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* his own fee being ten shillings per diem. He remained with the King in his army at Berwick to July 20, thirty of his men, as well sailors as others, remaining in the ship "cum corpore Thomæ de Gournay mortui ducto de dictis partibus de Naples." Nothing is said of any interment.

Such then is the narrative of the end of Sir Thomas de Gournay, as collected from evidence which appears to be unquestionable. It will be seen that almost every statement of De la Moor and Walsingham is contradicted by this new evidence: 1st. That the arrest was at Marseilles; 2nd. That he was put to death at sea; and 3rd. That he was put to death under orders from England, lest he should implicate certain great persons in the crime, meaning probably the Bishop of Hereford, if not Queen Isabella herself. The last is a point of no small historical importance. As the narrative now stands, Edward appears to have acted throughout the business with the utmost sincerity and integrity of purpose; and indeed the letter which is published in the Fœdera respecting the examination of Gournay at Burgos, and the certificate to be made of it with all particulars, whoever they might be that were implicated, under the common seal of the city, ought to have relieved him, in the eyes of modern historians, from the unworthy surmise of the contemporary chronicler, that he sought to suppress evidence by the destruction of the witness.

As to Walsingham, he is to be regarded only in the light of one who, in this part of his history, has followed an earlier chronicler who may be presumed to have had excellent means of information. But, one part of De la Moor's narrative thus brought to the test of its agreement with the existing contemporary record being found entirely undeserving of credit, it is impossible to prevent a certain amount of suspicion gathering in the mind respecting other information that was given to him concerning the last year of the life of that unhappy prince, which he has exhibited with so painful a particularity.[f]

[f] In Leland's notes out of the Scala Chronica (*Coll.* I. 555) we find the following passage, which seems to show that there was a strong feeling in England against Gournay; "There was a great trobyll in Balliols hoste for an esquier caullid Gurnay, whom the Marchers killid upon a surmise that one of [his] name was consenting to the deth of the kinges father." This was some time after the execution of Mortimer.

But in respect of the bearing of this communication on the evidence used by later writers on our national history, a far more important consideration is this: that, though not fewer than ten or twelve documents selected from the public records, relating to this transaction, are printed in the Fœdera, they fail to correct the errors of the chroniclers, and in fact perplex where they ought to explain. The effect has been, that by one historian of deserved eminence, their testimony has been entirely disregarded, and he has adhered to the narrative of De la Moor and Walsingham; and by another they have been partially used, a material document entirely set aside, and that which it was only requested might be done, is assumed to have been done accordingly. This must ever be the case when we have only such slight and partial selections from the national records as the Fœdera gives us.

I transmit copies of the three Compotuses which have supplied the facts now for the first time brought to light; and, as a document interesting in itself, and closely connected with the subject of this communication, I add, as an Appendix, the account rendered into the Exchequer of the expenses attending the removal of the body of King Edward the Second from Berkeley to Gloucester, and its interment in the Abbey there, which has not, I believe, before been published. It forms a very useful commentary on the statements of chroniclers and historians.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

JOSEPH HUNTER.

To Hudson Gurney, Esq.
F.R.S. V.P. &c. &c.

(A)

Compot^{o} Egidii de Ispann' eunt in Nunc Re^{s} in ptes t^{a}nsmar p bre Re^{s} patens dat **xxx^{o}** die Maii anno regni sui quinto de vad ipius Egidii pcipient p die in Angl **xij. d. & in** ptib^{3} tr^{a}nsmarin p diem ij. s p bre Re^{s} de privato sigillo Thes & **Baron directu put** pat^{3} inferius Dat xj. die Nov anno vj^{to}.

Rec.—Idm r comp de xx. li recept de Thes & Camer ix. die Julii anno q^{i}nto p bre de liber continent xx. li sibi liberand p itin^{o}e suo vsus Ispann p Thoma de Gournay inimico & rebello Re^{s} in eisdm ptib^{3} capt ad ipm Regem in Angl ducend put pat^{3} in pelle:' Et de c. s. recept de eisdm Thes Camer:' x^{o}. die Augusti anno vj^{to} p bre Re^{s}.

Sm^{a} Recept—**xxv. li.**

Expn.—Idm comp in vad suis aripiendo it suu de Sco Edo vsus ptes Ispann xxxj. die Maii eundo London p ij. dies seqn:' ibidm morando p vj. dies exp^{c}tando solucom pdcar xx. li. ac alia bria Re^{s} ad easdm ptes Ispann portand p negoc Re^{s} & ex inde eudo p ij. dies usq; Doviam & sic in Angl morando usq; x. die mensis Jun 'p' x. dies an tr^{a}nsfretacoem sua:' x. s. videlt p die xij. d. Et in vad suis ab xj. die Jun quo die applicuit apd Whytsond eundo p iiij. dies Pis:' ibidm morando p iiij. dies exp^{c}tando bria Re^{s} directa Regi Ispann & ex inde eundo Burdegal p x. dies ibidm morando p vij. dies p secretis negoc Re^{s} & ex inde eundo Re^{s} Navye ipm querendo apd Tudele p x. dies p negoc Re^{s} ibidm morado p vj. dies & ex inde usq; Burges in Ispann p vij. dies & ex inde Bitorie ad Johem Martyn de Lene cu bribz Re^{s} p liberacoe corpis pdci Thome de Gournay ibidm morando p viij. dies & ex inde redeundo usq; Burges p iij. dies & ex inde eudo usq; vall de Leet p iij. dies:' ibid morando p iij. dies explorando Reg^{e} Ispann, et exinde eudo usq; civitat Madrich ibidm morando p xxx. dies ad loqndu cu dco Rege Ispann ibidm invento & ex inde eundo Aville in comitiva dci Re^{s} p v. dies ibidm morando p xv. dies p dcis negoc et inde eundo Sugovie in comitiva ejusd Re^{s} & ibid morando p xxx. dies exp^{c}tando adventu dci Johis Martyn & ex inde eundo usq; villa de Coylle p ij. dies ibidm morando p xiij. dies & ex inde usq; vallc de Leeth p iij. dies in comitiva dci Re^{s} ibid morando p xx. dies expectando adventu dci Johis Martyn p lris ab eo hend ac eciam de Reg^{e} Ispann p liber corp^{is} dci Thome henda & ex inde redeudo usq; Burdegal p xvj. dies ibid morando p vj. dies p ccc. li. argenti ducend usq; Pampilon p viij. dies de fine fco p liber corpis dci Thome hend quo quid tepe evasit dcus Thom ex^{a} prisona & ex inde eundo in Arragonia p iij. dies ibid comorado p xx. dies explorando pdcm Thom & ex inde eundo in Ispann p viij. dies ibidem morando p viij. dies explorado modu evasionis pdci Thom & ex inde

eundo Burdegał p xiij. dies ibiđ morando p vj. dies p lr̃is senescall Burdegał ħend ad dc̃m Rę Ispanñ p corpe Joħis Tilly vallecti dc̃i Thom̃ capti ⁊ in pisona detenti ħendo ⁊ 'ex' inde redeundo usq; Burges in Ispanñ p xiij. dies ibiđ morando p xvij. dies ⁊ ex inde redeundo in Naverr̃ cū p̃dc̃o Joħe Tylley . ip̃m ducendo usq; villā de Olyt p vij. dies ubi Roƀtus Lynel inimic⁹ Rę capt⁹ fuit p dc̃m Egidiū de Ispanñ ⁊ ibiđ comorando p x. dies ⁊ ex inde ducendo dc̃os Joħem Tylly ⁊ Roƀm Lynel usq; Castrum Stelle p unū diē ibiđm morād̄o p xxviij. dies explorando dc̃m Thomā ⁊ ex inde ducendo dc̃m Joħem Tylly usq; Castrū Mallionis in Wascoñ p vij. dies ⁊ ex inde redeundo in Angł p xviij. dies applicando Doverre p̃dc̃o xvij. die Juñ ⁊ sic morando in ptibȝ trⁿsmar̃ p ccclxxij. dies utᵒq; die cōput̃ xxxvij. ł. iiij. s. videlicet p diem ij. s. Et in vađ ejusđ redeunt̃ in Angł p̃dc̃o xvij. die Juñ ⁊ ibiđ cōmoranđ usq; xj. diē Novembr̃ p̃x seqñ p cxlvij. dies vij. ł. vij. s. cap̃ p diē xij. đ. Et in trⁿsfretac̃oe sua hoīm ⁊ equoȝ suoȝ eundo ⁊ redeundo xiij. s. iiij. đ.

Smª Exp̃n xliiij. ł. vij. s. viij. đ.
Et ħet de supplus xix. ł. vij. s. viij. đ.

(B)

Particule comp̃ Egidii de Ispan' p̃vient̃ Regis ad arma de vađ suis 'tam' in ptibȝ Angł qⁿm eciam tⁿsmar̃ p br̃e Regis patens dat̃ pᵐo die Jun̄ anno vjᵒ. Et p br̃e de magno sigillo dat̃ xvᵒ. die Jun̄ anno ixᵒ.

Recept̃.—Idem ⁊ comp̃ de x. ł. recept̃ xxij. die Marcii anno vijᵒ. sup vađ suis p̃dc̃is de Thes̄ ⁊ Camar̃ sicut cont̃ in pelle Međ de Recept̃ Scⁿcii de p̃mino videlt Sc̃i Mich̃is anno p̃dc̃o. Et de xxx. ł. xj. s. recept̃ de đno Joħe Travers Constabular̃ Burdegał de exit̃ officii sui sup eisdem vađ suis.

Smª xl. ł. xj. s. De quibȝ

Idē comp̃ in vađ suis eundo 'de Wodestoke' in negoc̃ sibi p Regem injūctis ⁊ in dc̃is br̃ibȝ contentis videlt ad attachianđ quosdam inimicos Regę de sedic̃oe contª psonā celebris memorie đni E. nup Regę Angł p̃ris Regę nūc ac conspirac̃oe mortis ejusdem rectatos a dc̃o pᵐo die Jun̄ anno vjᵒ. usq; xxv. diē ejusdem mens̄ p xxiiij. dies non pᵒ die sȝ ultīo computat̃ quo die idē Egidius cepit Willm de Kyngesclere 'apud Roff'' rectatū de morte Regę E. p̃ris Regę hujus 'apud Roff'' xxiiij. s. viȝ p diē xij. đ.

Et in cons vad suis a xxvj. die Jul ꝑdco a° vj°. usq; viij. die Septembr ꝑx seq̃ñ ꝑ xlv. dies p° & ultio comp̃ quo die idem Egidius cepit dñm Ricm de Welle rone mortis ꝑdce 'apud Westoñ jux[a] Norht' xlv. s. capienc ꝑ die ut sup[a]. Et in cons vad suis ducend dcm dñm Ricm de Norht usq; Londoñ & custodiēd eundem ibidem ac explorand & arestand alios rectatos de morte ꝑdca a ix. die Septembr ꝑdco anno vj°. usq; ultimū diem Decembr ꝑx sequeñ ꝑ cxiiij. dies p° & ultio computat capienc ꝑ die ut s[a] cxiiij. s Et in cons vad suis explorando inimicos Regę ꝑdcos a p° die Januar anno vj°. ꝑdco usq; ultim̃ diem ejusdem mens ꝑx seqñ ꝑ. xxxj. dies capienc ꝑ dic ut s[a] quo die idem Egidius cepit Johem le Spicer 'apud London' rectatū de morte ꝑdca xxxj. s. Et in cons vad suis eundo & morando in divsis ꝑtibꝫ Angł ꝑ ꝑdcis inimicis arestandis a primo die Febr dco anno vj° usq; ix die ejusdem mens ꝑx seqñ ꝑ ix. dies p° & ultio computat 'quo die tnsfretavit de Dovorr usq; Wytsand ex causa ꝑdca' capienc ꝑ diem ut sup[a] ix. s.

Et in passagio ejusdem 'Egidii duoꝫ equoꝫ & duoꝫ garcōnū suoꝫ' de Dov usq; Whitsand 'ix' s.

Et in cons vad suis eundo in ꝑdcis negociis ad loca divsa infra regnum Franc a x. die Febr anno vij°. Regę hujus usq; x. die Juñ ꝑx seqñ ꝑ cxxj. dies p° & ultio computat 'inf[a] quod tempus cepit Johem Tylly apud Burgas in Ispañ' capienc ꝑ die in eisdem ꝑtibꝫ tnsmar ij. s. xij. li. ij. s.

Et in cons vad suis ab xj°. die Juñ dco anno vij°. quo die applic Burdegal usq; xxj. die mens Marcii ꝑx seqñ anno viij°. quo die recessit de Burdegal ꝑ cciiij[xx]. iiij. dies eundo morando & redeundo circa expedicōem negocioꝫ ꝑdcoꝫ capienc ꝑ die in ꝑtibꝫ tnsmaꝫ ut s[a] xxviij. li. viij. s.

Et in cons vad suis eundo in negociis ꝑdcis ad loca divsa in dco regno Franc a xxij. die Marcii dco anno viij° usq; p[i]mū diem Juñ ꝑx seqñ ꝑ lxxij. dies p° & ultio computat capienc ꝑ die in eisd ꝑtibꝫ ij. s. ut sup[a]. vij. li. iiij. s. Et in passagio ejusd 'Egidii' ij. equoꝫ & ij garcōnū suoꝫ de Whitsand usq; Dov redeundo in Angł ix. s.

Et in cons vad suis eundo ad loca divsa infra regnū Angł circa expedicōem negocioꝫ ꝑdcoꝫ a ij. die Juñ dco anno viij°. 'quo die rediit in Angł de ꝑtibꝫ tnsmar' usq; xv. die Jul a° ix° seqñę ꝑ ccccviij. dies p[i]mo die non ultio comput cap̃ ꝑ die in Angł xij. d. ut sup[a] xx. li. viij. s.

Sm[a] iiij[xx]. li. iij. s. Et het de supplus xxxix. li. xij. s.

Idem r.—de corpore Witti de Kyngesclere occone ꝑdca capti & arestati apud Roff' xxv. die Julii anno vj°. cujus corpus idē Egidius comp̃ lib Rado de Cromwell nup Constabular Tris Londoñ x. die Augusti eodem anno vj°.

Itm r. de corpore Ricī de Welle similiꝫ arestati apud Weston jux[a] Norht viij. die Decembr dco a°. vj°. Cujus corpus idem Egidius comp̃ lib Witto de Elond tunc Constabular Castri Notyngh[a]m x. die Aprit eodē a°. vj°.

Idē r. de corpore Joħis le Spicer similiꝑ arestati apud Londoñ ult̄ die Januaꝝ aº. vjº. ꝑdc̄o. Cujus corpus idem Egidius comꝑ lit̄ Joħi Hamont tunc uni vic̄ Londoñ eodem ult̄ die Januaꝝ.

Idem r. de corpore Joħis Tilly similiꝑ arestati apud Burgas in Ispañ x. die Juñ anno vijº. Cujus corpꝰ idē Egidius comꝑ lit̄ Reymundo de Meyncent Constabulaꝝ Castri Malloñ in Vascoñ xx. die Augusti anno eodem.

(C)

Particłe compoti Will'i de Tweng' milit̄ eund̄ in obsequiū Regis ad ꝑtes Secilie ꝑ quibusdam negociis Rꝙ in curia dñi Robti Regis Secilie de Naples expediend̄ mense Januaꝝ anno vijmo R. E. ꝑcii a conquestu ꝑ bre Regis videłt ad querend̄ ꝫ in Angł ducend̄ Thomā de Gournai militem rectatū de morte Regꝙ E. ꝑris Reg̃ nūc attach̄ ad sectam cujusdam Witti de Cornewaył apud Naples in cur̄ Robti Regꝙ Secilie.

Recepta.—Idem reddit compot̄ de xxxiij. łi. đi maꝝ. recept̄ de thro Regis ad Recept̄ Scacii xj. die Febr̄ dc̄o anno vijmo. sup expenꝭ suis eundo ad ꝑtes ꝑdc̄as in obsequiū Regis sicut cont̄ in pelle memoꝛ Recepte Scacii de ꝑmīo Sc̄i Michis dc̄o anno vijmo.

Et de vj. łi. j. maꝝ. recept. ibidem sup eodem xx. die Aprił eodem anno sicut cont. in pelle memoꝛ Recepte Scacii de ꝑmīo Pasche dc̄o anno vijmo.

Et de L. maꝝ. recept. ibidem de illis c. maꝝ. que computantr lit̄ate eidem Witto ꝫ Petro Bernard de Pinsoles sup eodem xxviij die Aprił eodem anno vijmo. sicut cont. ibidem.

Et de cclxj. łi. xiij. ꝭ. iiij. đ. de ꝑcio mł. Dlxx. flor̄ de Florencia receptis apud Naples nōīe Rꝙ de ꝑcatoribꝫ de Societate Bardoꝛ de Florencia unde iidem ꝑcatores ħent łras suas de recepc̄oe computato floreñ ad iij. ꝭ. iiij. đ.

[Et de xvj. łi. xiij. ꝭ. iiij. đ. de ꝑcio c. flor̄ receptoꝛ de Petro Bernard de Pinsoles nōīe Rꝙ de floreñ Rꝙ in custodia dc̄i Petri existenc̄ ꝑciū floreñ iij. ꝭ. iiij. đ.

Smª cccłj. łi. xiij. ꝭ. iiij. đ.][a]

Smª cccxxxv. łi.

Expenꝭ.—Idem comꝑ in expenꝭ ipius Witti diurnis a xvj. die Januaꝝ anno vijmo quo die ven. apud Eboꝛ ad Regem ꝑ ꝑceptū ipius Rꝙ oretenus sibi fc̄m apud Bevlacū usq; vj.

[a] The portion within brackets is not in a duplicate of this account.

diem Julii p̃x seq̃nt̃ quo die venit ad Regem apud Berewycū videlt morand̃ apud Eboz̃ p informac̃oe h̃nda de negociis R̃e expediend̃ v̄sus Regem Secilie eundo ad p̄tes de Naples morando ibidem ⁊ redeundo ad Reg̃ usq; ad dc̄as p̄tes Berewyci p clxxij. dies utroq; die comput. capiente p diem x. s. juxta discrec̃oem Thes̄ ⁊ Baronū de Sc^acio iiij^xx. vj. li.

Et in consimilib3 exp̃ns ip̃ius Witti a vij^o. die dc̄i mens̄ Julii usq; xx. die ejusdem mensis p q^atuordec̄ dies utroq; die computato p quod temp^o ip̃e Wittmus morabat^r cū Rege in excercitu suo apud Berewicū ⁊ xxx. hō̄es sui tam naute q^am alii morabant^r in quadam navi cū corpore Thome de Gournai mortui ducto de dc̄is p̄tib3 de Naples cap̃ ut sup^a vij. li.

Sm^a iiij^xx. xiij. li.

Forinc̃.—Itē comp̃ in passag̃ maris apud Dovorr̃ v̄sus p̄tes p̄dc̄as in p̄cio vij. flor̃. p̄c̃ ut sup^a xxiij. s. iiij. d. Itē in frettag̃ unius navis de Nise usq; ad portū de Pyse in p̄cio vij. flor̃ xxiij. s. iiij. d. Itē in locac̃oe iiij. equoz̃ de portu Pyse usq; Pyse in p̄cio ij. flor̃. vj. s. viij. d. Itē p locac̃oe equoz̃ ⁊ p conductu h̃endo de Pyse usq; Naples in p̄cio Lij. flor̃ ij. s. t^r.—viij. li. xiij. s. x. d. Itē p Cotes Hardif' emptis in p̄cio x. flor̃. v. s. t^r.—xxxiiij. s. vij. d. Itē p iij p^rpoynt3 empt̃ in p̄cio iij. flor̃. vj. s. t^r.—xj. s. vj. d. Itē p iij. p̄ib3 de plates in p̄cio xiiij. flor̃.—xlvj. s. viij. d. Itē p iij. p̄ib3 de Paunces, braces, ⁊ Musekyns aventat in p̄cio xLj. flor̃—vj. li. xvj. s. viij. d. Itē p iij. p̄ib3 cyrotecaz̃ de plate ⁊ iij. bacinettes in p̄cio v. flor̃ xij. (*sic*) t^r.—xvj. s. xj. d. De quib3 armaturis idem Wittms deb̃ respondere ⁊ respondet infra.

Idem comp̃ p quodam sacco ⁊ quadam cista p p̄dc̄is armat̃is in p̄cio ij. flor̃ viij. s. t^r.—viij. s. viij. d. Itē p quodam cipho argenteo empto ⁊ dato dño Joh̃i de la Haye Senescallo dñi R̃e Secilie p̄c̃ xxv. flor̃.—iiij. li. iij. s. iiij. d. Itē hostar̃ ⁊ camar̃ dñi R̃e ⁊ Regine Secilie in p̄c̃ vij. flor̃—xxiij. s. iiij. d. Itē p indumentis ad usū dñi Thome Gournois in p̄c̃ vj. flor̃ vj. s. t^r.—xxj. s. vj. d. Itē p pannis lineis empt̃ ad usū ejusdem Thome in p̄c̃ unius flor̃—viij. s. viij. d. t^r.—v. s. vj. d. Itē p caligis empt̃ ad usū ejusdem Thome in p̄c̃ vij. s. t^r.—xxj. d. Itē p lecto h̃endo ad usū ejusdem Thome in carcere in p̄c̃ v. s. t^r.—xv. d. Itē p bogis empt̃ ad usū ejusdem Thome in p̄c̃ viij. flor̃. iij. s. t^r.—xxvij. s. v. d. Itē p quodam Cote Hardif' ad usū Witti de Cornewayll ad cujus sectam dc̄us Thom̃ fuit attachiat^o in p̄c̃ ij. flor̃ iiij. s. t^r.—vij. s. viij. d. Itē p pannis lineis caligis ⁊ sotularib3 ad usum ejusdem Witti in p̄c̃ unius flor̃ xij. d. t^r—iij. s. vij. d. Itē v̄sientib3 dñi Joh̃is de la Haye in p̄c̃ v. flor̃—xvj. s. viij. d. Itē vallectis Admiralli Regis Rob̃ti in p̄c̃ iij. flor̃—x. s. Itē p frettagio unius navis de Naples usq; Agmort̃ in p̄c̃ cccl. flor̃—lxxv. li. Itē nautis v̄sientib3 in eadem Navi in p̄c̃ iij. flor̃ v. s. t^r.—xj. s. iij. d. Itē p iij. equis iiij. mulis ⁊ septem sellis empt̃ apud Pirpunane in terra Regis Maliogers in p̄c̃ ccxlij. flor̃—xL. li. vj. s. viij. d. de quib3 idem Witts deb̃ respondere ⁊ respondet infra. Itē quia dc̄us Witts ⁊ om̃es qui cū illo attach̃ fuerunt apud Coloure p delib̃ac̃oe sua h̃enda in p̄c̃ vj. flor̃—xx. s. Itē p hujusmodi delib̃ac̃oe apud Boloñ in p̄c̃ xxxij. flor̃—cvj. s. viij. d.

Itē ꝟvienť Regę apud Boloñ in ꝑc̃ iij floř—x. ſ. Itē ꝑ quodam equo ꝫ uno garc̃oe ac ꝑ conductu ħenđ de Coloure usq; Boloñ in ꝑc̃ v. floř. xvj. ſ. viij. đ. Itē vicař Boloñ ꝫ cuidam ꝑconi Regis facientibꝫ conductū de Boloñ usque Mountblaunk' in ꝑcio xiij. floř. viij. ſ. tr.—xlv. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē fisicis ꝫ ꝑ apothecis empť apud Mountblaunk' ad usum dc̃i Thome in ꝑc̃ xxxix. floř—vj. ti. x. ſ. Item ꝑ botes empť ad usum ejusdem Thome in ꝑc̃ ix. ſ. iiij. đ. tr.—ij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē Menestrallis Regis Arragoñ apud Mountblaunk' in ꝑc̃ ij. floř—vj. ſ. viij. đ. Itē cuidam ꝟvienti Regę Arragoñ facienti conductū ꝑ idē Regnū in ꝑc̃ ix. floř. ij. ſ. tr.—xxx. ſ. vj. đ. Itē ꝑ frettag̃ cujusdam Navis de Sorde usq; Bayoñ in ꝑc̃ unius floř—iij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē cuidam nuncio dñi de Beerne in ꝑcio unio floř—iij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē duobꝫ fisicis apud Bayoñ ꝑ statu dc̃i Thome emendanđ in ꝑcio xx. floř. v. ſ. iiij. đ. tr. —lxviij. ſ. Itē ꝑ apothecis empť ibidem ad usū ejusdem Thome in ꝑc̃ xxxij. floř—cvj. ſ. viij. đ. Itē duobꝫ garc̃oibꝫ ducentibꝫ vij. equos ꝟsus Burdeux in ꝑc̃ iij. floř. iiij. ſ. tr.—xj. ſ. Itē ꝑ expenſ dc̃oꝝ equoꝝ de Bayouñ usq; Burdeux in ꝑc̃ iij. floř—x. ſ. Itē ꝑ duabꝫ navictis conductis ad victualia carianđ in ꝑc̃ ij. floř.—vj. ſ. viij. đ. Itē cuidam garc̃oi eunti senescallo Burdeg̃ in ꝑc̃ ij floř—vj. ſ. viij. đ. Itē cuidam garc̃oi conductori de Marsiłł usq; Bayoñ in ꝑcio vij. floř v. ſ. viij. đ. tr.—xxiiij. ſ. ix. đ. Itē ꝑ renovac̃oe Navis apud Burdeux in ꝑcio iij. floř iiij. ſ. tr.—xj. ſ. Itē cuidam notař ibidē ꝑ cartis in ꝑc̃ unius floř—iij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē ꝑ quadam navi ꝑ corꝑe dc̃i Thome tūc mortui ducenđ de Bayoñ usq; Burdeux in ꝑc̃ xxvij. floř juxta verum valorem eaꝝdem tūc ibidem—iiij. ti. x. ſ. Itē ꝑ locac̃oe iij. equoꝝ ꝟsus Burdeux extª Jeroñ in ꝑc̃ ij. floř. vj. ſ. tr.—viij. ſ. ij. đ. Itē ꝑ corꝑe dc̃i Thome mortui pma vice ꝑparanđ in ꝑcio xvj. floř iiij. ſ. tr—liiij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē ꝑ eodem corꝑe ꝑparando alia vice in ꝑc̃ xviij. floř iiij. ſ. tr.—lxj. ſ. Itē ꝑ duabꝫ navictis reducentibꝫ corpus ejusdem Thome ꝟsus Burdeg̃ extª Jeroñ in ꝑcio unius floř iij. ſ. tr.—iiij. ſ. j. đ. Itē cuidā Notař Burdeg̃ ꝑ quodam instrumento in ꝑc̃ unius floř iiij. ſ. tr.—iiij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē ꝑ carta Petri Bernard in ꝑc̃ unius floř—iij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē Mag̃o Petro Notař apud Rayoñ ꝑ qªdam carta in ꝑc̃ unius floř—iij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē ꝑ quadam pipa vini empť apud Sc̃m Mathm ꝑ garnistura unius navis in ꝑc̃ ix. floř vij. ſ. tr.—xxxj. ſ. ix. đ. Itē ꝑ duobꝫ roundilettis j. de ꝟgus ꝫ ał de vin egre in ꝑc̃ iij. floř. iij. ſ. iiij. đ. tr.—x. ſ. x. đ. Itē ꝑ aliis iiij. roundilettis ꝑ garnistura dc̃e navis in ꝑc̃ unio floř iiij. ſ. tr.—iiij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē ꝑ lectis ꝫ aliis aisiamentis ħenđ in navi de Bayoñ in ꝑc̃ x. floř.—xxxiij. ſ. iiij. đ. Itē ꝑ victualibꝫ apud Sandwyc̃ empť in ꝑc̃ iiij. floř. xij. đ. tr. —xiij. ſ. vij. đ. Itē ꝑ equis locař de Tynnemuth usq; Berewyc̃ in ꝑc̃ vij. floř. iiij. ſ. tr.—xxiiij. ſ. iiij. đ. [Itē ꝑ empť de Petro Bernarđ in ꝑc̃ c. floř—xvj. ti. xiij. ſ. iiij. đ. de quibꝫ equis ꝫ armatris idem Wiłłs deb respoñ ꝫ respondet infra.][b] Itē liberavit dño Robto de Tauntoñ custodi Garderobe Regis—cccxxxiiij. floř ꝑc̃—lv. ti. iij. ſ. iiij. đ. de

[b] The portion within brackets is not in the duplicate.

quibꝫ idem Robtus debet respondere ⁊ respondet infra. Itē ꝑ exp̄nš ij. garc̄ unius equi ⁊ ij. mul̄ eunciū de Burdeğ usq; Lund̄ 'in com̄ Eboꝝ' in ꝑc̄ xxj. flor̄ vij. š. viij. đ. tr.—lxxj. š. ix. đ.

Smª haꝫ expenš—cclvij. li. vi. š. x. đ.

Smª tot oïm expenš—ccclxvij. li. ij. đ.
Et ñet de supplus̄—xv. li. vj. š. x. đ.

(D)

Compotꝰ Hugon' de Glaunvill' clici assignat̄ ad corpꝰ E. Regę patꝛis Regę nūc duci faciend̄ de castro de Berkeleye usq; ad Abbathiam Sc̄i Petri Gloucestr̄ et ad solvend̄ vad̄ illis qui in comitiva dc̄i corpis ꝓficisci debeant ⁊ morari et ad alias exp̄nš faciend̄ que ꝑ consuetūdinē dc̄i corpis fieri optebnt ꝑ br̄e Regę de Scacio patens cuiꝰ dat̄ est apd̄ Eboꝫ xxij. die Octobr̄ anno regñ Rę E. ꝓcii a conquest̄ primo ꝑ visum ⁊ testimoniū Ric̄i de Byflet quē Rex assign̄ ad dc̄as Exp̄nš supvidend̄ contrarotland̄ ⁊ testificand̄ vidlt de vad̄ soluc̄ ⁊ aliis exp̄nš necessar̄ ꝑ ipm Hugoñ fact̄ a predc̄o xxij. die Octobr̄ usq; xx. diem Decembr̄ p̄x sequent̄ quo die corpus dc̄i dñi Regę ibidm sepeliebatur.

Idm reddit compot̄ de c. š. recept̄ xxiij. die Octobr̄ de Venerabli p̄re H. Linc̄ Epo Thesaur̄ et Camar̄ Regę apd Eboꝫ supꝑ exp̄nš ⁊ vad̄ solvend̄ illis qui juxª corpꝰ dc̄i Regę morabantr apd Gloucestr̄ sicut continetr in pelle recept̄ Scacii anno sc̄do ꝓmino Sc̄i Mich̄.

Et de —— xxviij. li. vj. š. viij. đ. rec̄ de Thoma de Rodborwec vic̄ Gloucestr̄ supꝑ consimilibꝫ exp̄nš ꝑ br̄e Regę de Scacio eidm Thome de majore smª dirct̄ ⁊ acquiet̄ dc̄i Hug̃ eidm fc̄am.

Et de —— xiij. li. rec̄ de Ric̄o de Pavos ⁊ Thoma de Rossele Collectoribꝫ vet̄is custume ⁊ nove in portu Bristoll̄ supꝑ consimilibꝫ exp̄nš ꝑ aliud br̄e Regę de Scacio eisdm Collectoribꝫ dirct̄ ⁊ acqit̄ dc̄i Hug̃ eisdm fc̄am.

Et de —— xiiij. li. rec̄ de Thoma Fairday ⁊ Henrico Lovecokę collector̄ custume Regę in port̄ Exoñ supꝑ consilibꝫ exp̄nš ꝑ ꝓcium br̄e Regę de Scacio eisdm collectoribꝫ dirct̄.

c Rodberghe, in the counter roll.

Et de —— vj. li. x. s. rec̃ de prestit̃ Garderob̃ de dño Robto de Wodehous̃ custod̃ Garderobe Regę p man^{o} Robti de Storlande ap̃d Wigorn̄ xxvj. die Decembr̃ in ꝑpacac̃oem vad̃ Edi de Wasteneys p mora sua jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę ap̃d Glouc̃.

Et de —— viij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. rec̃ de prestit̃ Garderob̃ Regę de eod̃m dño Robto in ꝑpacac̃oem vad̃ dñi Robti de Hastangę moran̄t jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę ap̃d Glouc̃ p man^{o} ejusd̃m dñi Robti ꝑdc̃o xxvj. die Decembr̃.

Et de —— xlij. s. rec̃ de prestito Garderob̃ de eod̃m dño Robto p man^{o} Willmi de Hillom ap̃d Norĥt xv. die Maii p vad̃ dñi Bernardi Bergĥ de Kyrkeby.

Sm^{a} Rec̃ lxxvij. li.

Inde id̃m comput̃ solut̃ f'ri Johñi Landaven̄ Epō ordinat̃ p dñm Regē ad morand̃ ap̃d Glouc̃ jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę p̃ris sui usq; ad funeracc̃oem ejusd̃m ꝑcipient̃ p diem jux^{a} ordinac̃oem consit̃ Regę ap̃d Notingh^{a}m [spāliꝑ sup eod̃m negoc̃ vocat̃]^{d} xiij. s. iiij. d. q;^{a}diu morabatur ibid̃m vidlt a xxj. die Octobr̃ quo die corpus p̃ris dñi Regę ꝑdc̃i ducebat̃ de Berkele usq; ad Abbathiam Sc̃i Petr̃ Glouc̃ usq; xx. die Decembr̃ p̃x sequent̃ p lix. dies p^{i}mo ⁊ ultimo cōputat̃ — xxxix. li. vj. s. viij. li. p br̃e Regę de p^{i}vato sigillo ⁊ acquiet̃ dc̃i dñi Epi de pte ejusd̃m sūme dict̃ recept̃ testificant̃ ut patet p compot̃ cū eod̃m fc̃m ap̃d Glouc̃ xxij. die Decembr̃ anno ꝑdc̃o.

Et dño Robto de Hastangę militi moranti jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę ibid̃m a xx. die Octobr̃ anno ꝑdc̃o usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ p̃x sequēt̃ p lx. dies capient̃ p diem vj. s. viij. d. p ordinac̃oem ꝑdc̃i consit̃ dñi Regę—xx. li. p sup^{a}dc̃m br̃e Regę ⁊ iiij. acquietanc̃ ip̃ius Robti de pte dict̃ recept̃ testificant̃.

Et dño Edmūdo Wasteneys militi moranti jux^{a} corpus Regę ibid̃m a xx. die Octobr̃ anno ꝑdict̃ usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ p̃xm sequēt̃ p lx. dies p^{i}mo ⁊ ultimo nō comput̃ capient̃ p diem v. s. p ordinac̃oem consit̃ Regę ꝑdc̃i—xv. li. p sup^{a}dc̃m br̃e ⁊ tram acq^{i}etāt̃ ip̃ius Edmūdi de pte dict̃ recept̃ testificant̃.

Et dñis Bernardo Bergĥ de Kyrkeby ⁊ Ric̃o de Byfleꝺ^{e} capellanis Regę morantib; ibid̃m a ꝑdc̃o xx. die Octobr̃ usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ p̃x sequent̃ anno ꝑdc̃o p lx. dies p^{i}mo ⁊ ult^{i}o nō cōput̃ quoꝝ ult^{a} cepit p diem iij. s. p ordinac̃oem ꝑdict̃ consit̃ Regę—xviij. li. p sup^{a}dc̃m br̃e ⁊ acquiet̃ eoꝝdm̄ de pte dict̃ recept̃ testificant̃.

Et Bertrando de la More ⁊ Johñi de Enefeld ꝺvientib; Regę ad arma ⁊ Andree Chaundeler moran̄t ibid̃m jux^{a} corp^{o} Regę p ordinac̃oem sup^{a}dc̃am a xx. die Octobr̃ anno ꝑdc̃o usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ p̃xm sequent̃ p lx. dies p^{i}mo ⁊ ultīo nō comput̃ quoꝝ quilibt eoꝝ cepit p diem xij. d.—ix. li. p sup^{a}dict̃ br̃e ⁊ acquiet̃ eoꝝdm̄ de pte dict̃ recept̃ testificant̃.

Et Willmo Beukayre ꝺvienti Regę ad arma moranti ap̃d Berkeleye ⁊ Glouc̃ jux^{a} corpus

[d] These words are cancelled in the account, but retained in the counter roll. [e] Byfflet', in Contr.

Regę a die Sči Mathei Apli vidlt xxj. die Septembr̃ quo die Rex moriebaꝰ usq; xx. diem Decembr̃ pxm sequenť anno supªdčo qui cepit p diem xij. đ. p ordinačoem supªdčam[p iiij^{xx}. ⁊ x. dies pⁱmo ⁊ ultimo compuť—iiij. ti. x. s. p aliud br̃e Rę de pⁱvato sigillo ⁊ acquieť ejusđm Willmi dicť receptť testificanť.

Et Hugoni de Glaunvill clico assignať p veñ p̃rem H. dei gr̃a Linč Ep̃m tūc[f] Thęsauř ⁊ Baroñ de Scªcio ad eundū de Ebor̨ usq; Berkeleye ⁊ duci faciend corpus Regę de ibiđm usq; Abbathiam Sči Petri Glouč ⁊ ad solvend vađ morantibꝫ juxª corpus dči Regę ibiđm capienť p diem [juxª ordinačoem eor̨đm] s iij. s. iiij. đ. a xxij. die Octobr̃ anno supªdčo usq; xx. diē Decēbr̃ pxm sequenť quo die corpº Regę sepeliebaꝰ p lix. dies—ix. ti. xvj. s. viij. đ.

Et ciđm moranti apd Glouč ad computand cū ministris Regę p iiij. dies post sepulturā corpis dči Regę ⁊ redeundo de ibiđm usq; Ebor̨ p vij. dies cap̃ ut supª—xxxv. s. ix. đ.

Et cuidam garčoni deferenť br̃e Regę ⁊ lr̃am dči Hug̃ a Glouč usq; civitať Exoñ Thom̃ Fairday ⁊ Henrico Lovecok' collectoř veꝰis ⁊ nove custum̃ Regę ibiđm p denař ab eisđm ħnd eundo ⁊ redeund p x. dies ex ?cta convēčoe facta cū eođm—ij. s. vj. đ.

Et cuidam garčoi eunti de Glouč usq; Bristoll ad deferend br̃e Regę ⁊ lr̃am dči Hug̃ p consimili causa eundo ⁊ redeund. p iij. dies—vj. đ.

Et cuidam garčoni deferenti lr̃am dči Hug̃ de Glouč usq; Ebor̨ Thesauř ⁊ Baroñ de Scªcio ad ?tificand eis de appatu ⁊ ordinačoibꝫ fčis ibiđm p corpe Regę eundo ⁊ redeundo p x. dies—xx. đ.

Et cuidam garčoi deferenť lr̃am Regę de Glouč usq; Londoñ dño Thome de Useflet custodi magne Garderobe Regę p appatu ⁊ aliis rebꝫ ordinať festinād p sepultura corpis dči Regę ⁊ ducend de ibiđm usq; Glouč eundo ⁊ redeund p vij. dies—xiiij. đ.

Et in iiij. magnis lignis de quercu aptis ad sarrand ad barreas fač p claustura circª corpº Regę ad resistend oppressioem popli irruenť una cū stip̃nd carpentař ⁊ sarratoꝛ—viij. s. ix. đ.

Smª exp̃n cxviij. ti. vij. s. xj. đ.
Et hab supplusag̃ xl. ti. xv. s. viij. đ.

Smª rectᵉ lxxvij. ti. xij. s.
Smª expñ cxviij. ti. iij. s. viij. đ.

Attached to the front of this Roll is the following writ:

Edwardus dei gr̃a Rex Angł Dñs Hibñ ⁊ Dux Aquiť dilco clico suo Ričo de Portesgrave dčo de Byflete saltm̃.

Cum Dederimº diem ad scªcm nr̃m dilco clico nr̃o Hugoni de Glaunvill ad qⁱndenā

[f] In the contr. the word *tunc* is omitted. [s] Cancelled in the account, but retained in the counter roll.

videlt Sči Tⁱnitatis pẍ futuř ad reddendū noƀ compotū de receptis misis ⁊ expensis ꝑ iꝑm fčis ꝑ visum ⁊ testimoniū vřm circa cariagiū corꝑis bone memorie dñi E. nuꝑ Regis Angł přis nři de Castro de Berkeleye usq; Aƀƀiam Sči Petri Glouč ac conservačoem ejusđm corꝑis qui quidem compotus sine vři ꝓsencia reddi nō potest seu ꝓminari.

Vobis mandam⁹ qđ in ꝑpⁱa ꝑsona vřa sitis coram Baroñ de dčo Scᵃcio nřo apud Eboꝛ ad ꝓdčam qⁱndenā cum contᵃrotłis vřis ⁊ oñibꝫ aliis que penes vos sunt dčm comꝑ tangentibꝫ ad on⁹andū ꝓfatū Hugoñ ⁊ ad ulterius faciendū quod ad officiū contᵃrotłatoris ꝑtinet supꝑ comꝑ ꝓdčm.

Et ħeatis ibi tunc hoc bře. T. H. le Scroꝑ apud Eboꝛ x. die Maii anno r. ñ. octavo.

Ꝑ rotłm Memoꝛ de eodem anno, Pascħ. Dies dati.

Attached to the dorse is the Counter Roll, the variations in which are noticed in the margin.

On the dorse of the Counter Roll is the following note of its delivery:

Hunc 9ᵃrotłm cū bři eidem consuto liƀavit hic Ričus de Potesgrave dčus de Byflete ꝑ manus suas ꝑpⁱas xxv. die Maii anno regni R. E. tercii post conq̄stū octavo ⁊ ꝓstitit sacřm coram Baroñ eod die qđ oñes expense ⁊ solučões in hoc rotło contente fideliꝑ fče fuerunt ꝑ Hugoñ de Glaunvitł circa cariagiū ⁊ conservačoem corꝑis infrascripti ꝑ visum ⁊ testimoñ iꝑius Ričі.

XX. *A Letter from* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F.R.S., Director, to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary, with an Account of a British Buckler, found in the bed of the River Isis, between Little Wittenham and Dorchester, in Oxfordshire.*

Read 14th December, 1837.

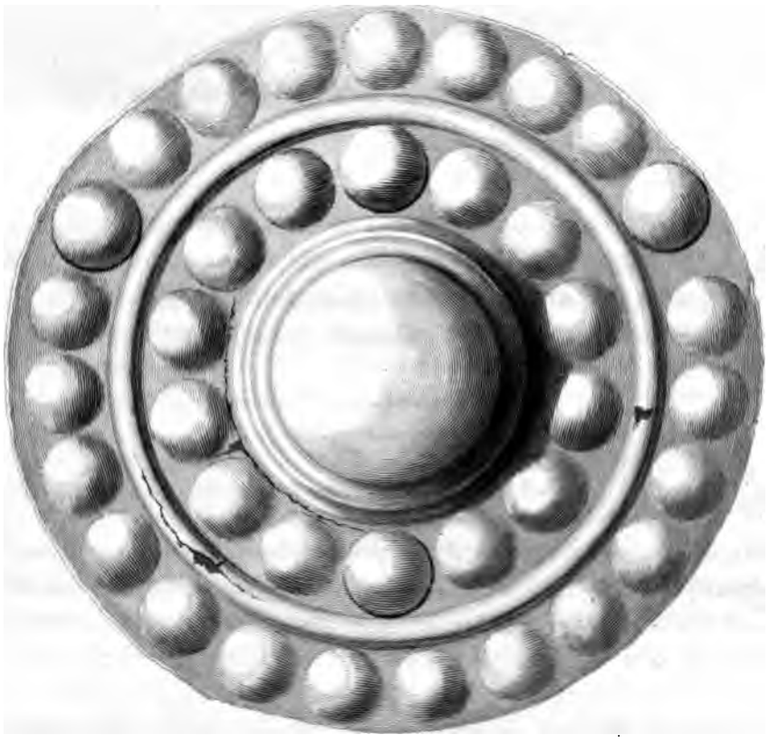
DEAR SIR HENRY,

THE Gold British Corslet lately exhibited to the Society will be fresh in their recollection, and I now have the pleasure of submitting the drawing of a little round Buckler, (Pl. XXII.) recently added to the collection of Antiquities in the British Museum, which for its workmanship may be classed with the Corslet.

This Buckler is of bronze or metal, measuring in diameter fourteen inches by thirteen. It is ornamented with two series of round bosses, between raised concentric circles, having a large boss or umbo in the centre. All the bosses are punched in the metal excepting four, two of which form the rivets to the handle within, and two are the rivets to the metal extremities apparently of a strap, these four bosses being consequently moveable.

This interesting object was found in the month of October 1836, on the lower margin of the pool of the Little Wittenham or Day's lock upon the river Isis, about half a mile above the junction of that river with the Thame stream, midway between Little Wittenham bridge and the weir connected with the lock, about one mile to the westward of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, a hundred and fifty or two hundred yards from the western end of an earthwork, called Dyke hills, and three quarters of a mile from the intrenchment upon Sinodun or Little Wittenham hill. The spot is remarkable, and a plan of it is subjoined, showing, under the letter A, where the Buckler was found.

The Rev. James Clutterbuck, vicar of Long Wittenham in Berkshire, from whom the plan has been received, accompanied it with the following observations, dated April 6, 1837:



A bronze British Buckler found in the bed of the River Isis.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23rd 1838.

J. Basire. del.t et s.



" I have tried," says Mr. Clutterbuck, " to ascertain from the lockman, by whom the shield was found (and who is well acquainted with this and other parts of the river), the exact spot and nature of the ground where it was discovered; the information obtained from him, coupled with my own observations, lead me to the conclusion, that it was lying in the *ancient* bed of the river Isis.

" He tells me that he was ballasting (raising gravel from the bottom of the river) on the lower margin of the lock-pool, where a quantity of gravel had been driven up by the water washing through the weir; when they had made a large hole in the gravel, at the depth of some feet, they came upon a drift, which, from the appearance it presented, convinced him that they were upon the ancient bed of the river; in this drift the shield was found, being forced to the surface by the spoor (the implement used in ballasting).

" In the course of last summer I happened to examine the spot rather minutely when passing over it in a boat, and I have also lately visited it; and my own observation confirms the opinion of the lockman, as to the river still running over its ancient bed at the spot in question. On the western or Berkshire side the ground rises rather abruptly from the river bank, which must have prevented the river from ever having deviated materially from its present course on that side, and the state and nature of the eastern or Oxfordshire banks show that the river has never deviated from its present course on that side.

" I mention these things, because there are many places where to my knowledge the river has been gradually altering its course, which would make it difficult to determine where the bed of the river was at any given period, but not so in this case. Another fact worthy of notice, is, that there has been a ford within the memory of man within about two hundred yards of the spot in question.

" I may therefore state with some confidence that the shield was found on the ancient bed of the river Isis, very near, if not absolutely upon a spot where it was fordable.

" In the neighbourhood, Roman and British coins, pottery, utensils, arms, and skeletons, are very frequently discovered."

The large British shield at Goderich Court is ornamented, like this Buck-

ler, with bosses within raised concentric circles, and has an umbo to receive the hand, and also appears to have had straps; but the bosses of the Buckler are six times the size of those on the shield, while the diameter of the Buckler is about half the diameter of the shield.

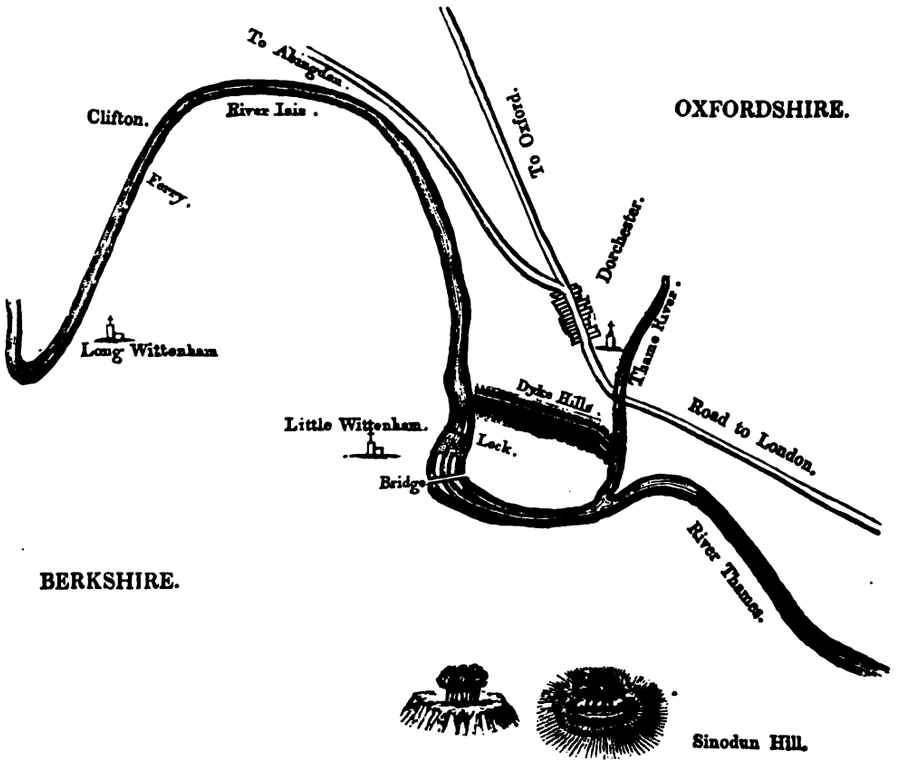
Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick is of opinion that this Buckler is a unique specimen of the Tarian, showing that the Dobuni had a different form of shield to what was used by the natives near Newcastle on Tyne, or by those of Merionethshire and Cardiganshire.

Dear Sir Henry,

yours faithfully,

JOHN GAGE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.



Sinodun Hill.

XXI. *A Letter from* Edward Hawkins, *Esq. F.R.S. & S.A. to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S., Secretary, with an Account of some Saxon Pennies, and other Articles, found at Sevington, North Wilts.*

Read 21st December, 1837.

Dear Sir Henry,

In January 1834 labourers employed in making a deep drain upon a farm in the occupation of Mrs. Gough at Sevington, in North Wilts, found some Saxon Pennies, nearly seventy, it is said, in number.

They were buried between two and three feet deep, in the middle of a meadow, where there was no trace of buildings; and appeared to have been deposited in a box, of which there were some decayed remains.

With these coins were dug up a circular ornament, about one inch in diameter, having a hole through its centre, some fragments of silver and brass, and two delicate instruments of silver, one a fork, and the other in the nature of a spoon. The whole were found, as described by the workmen, in a space not exceeding the size of a hat.

These circumstances have been communicated by C. W. Loscombe, of Pickwick House, Corsham, Esq. who exhibited to the Society some of the silver Pennies, together with the fork and spoon and other objects found.

Of the seventy Coins which were discovered, many were much defaced, and some taken up in fragments; thirty, however, were in good preservation, and are Coins of the following personages:

Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury from	A.D. 806 to 832.
Ceolnoth, ditto	832 to 872.

Ceonwulf, King of Mercia from . .	796.
Ceolwulf	819.
Berthulf	839.
Egbert, King of all England . .	827 to 838.
Ethelwulf	838 to 857.
Ethelstan, King of East Angles . .	878 to 890.

The greater part of them were of types well known, and requiring no particular observation; but ten of them, presenting some variations, have been engraved in Plate XXIII.

Fig. 1 is a coin of Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, and resembles that given by Ruding, plate xiii. fig. 1, except that the bust of the Archbishop is confined within the inner circle. The moneyer's name upon the two coins is the same.

Fig. 2, presents a similar bust of the Archbishop, and has on the reverse an abbreviation of the name of his episcopal city, Dorobernia civitas: the name of the moneyer is SWEFNERD, a name which occurs upon coins of Egbert, sole monarch, and Ceonwulf, King of Mercia.

Fig. 3 is a coin of Ceonwulf, King of Mercia; the moneyer's name appears to be TALHSTAN, but the first letter ought probably to have been an E, but as we have not the coin to refer to we cannot say whether the mistake be that of the engraver of the die, or the artist who made the drawing.

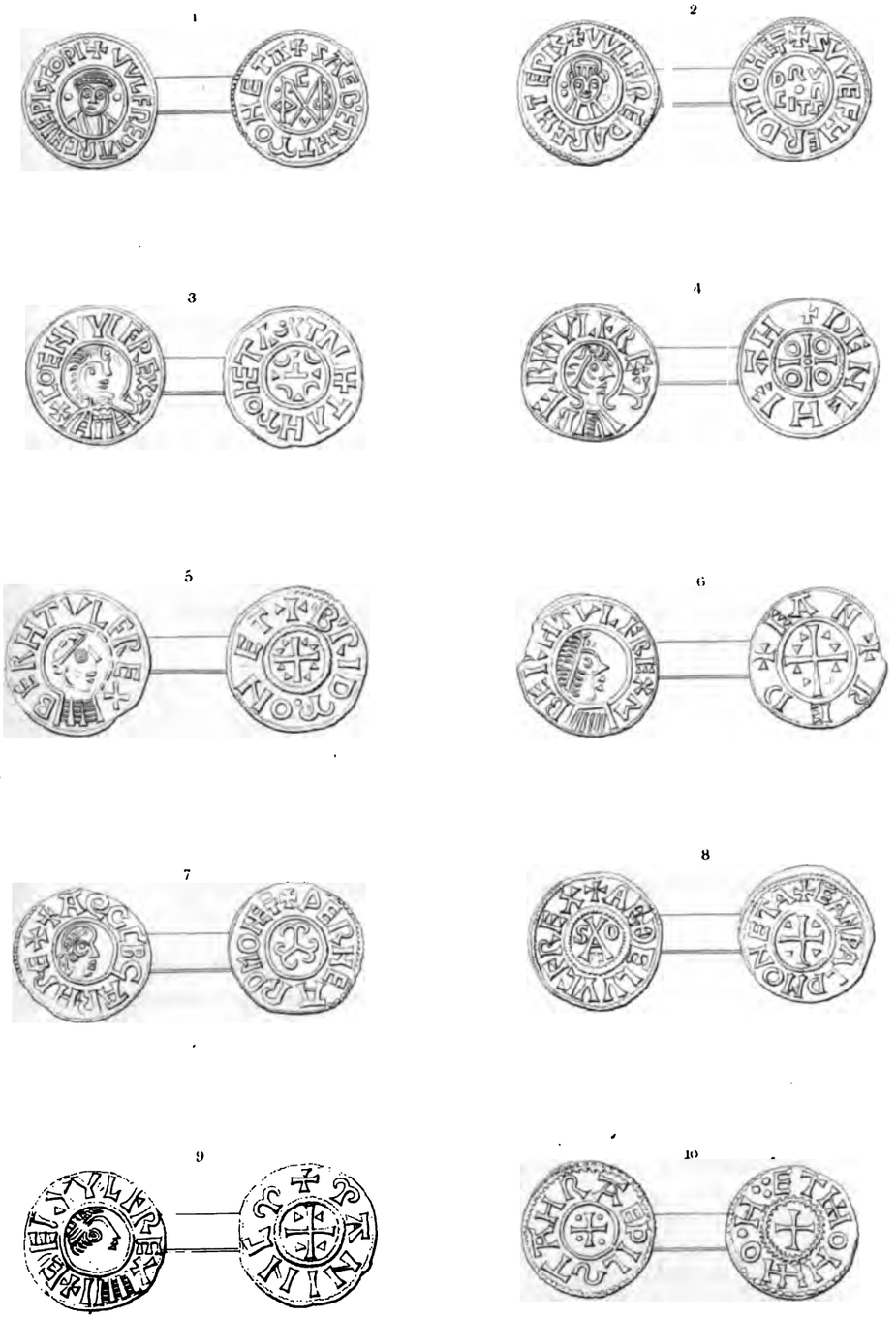
Fig. 4 is a coin of Berthulf, King of Mercia; it resembles Ruding, plate vii. fig. 5; the moneyer's name seems to be intended for Denchean.

Figs. 5 and 6 are also coins of Berthulf; BRID is the moneyer of one, and EANRED of the other.

Fig. 7 does not resemble any of the published coins of Egbert the First, sole monarch of England; WERHEART is the name of a moneyer which occurs upon coins of Coenwulf King of Mercia.

Figs. 8 and 9 are coins of Ethelwulf. Fig. 8 somewhat resembles the coins of his predecessor Egbert; the moneyer's name EANPALD is new.

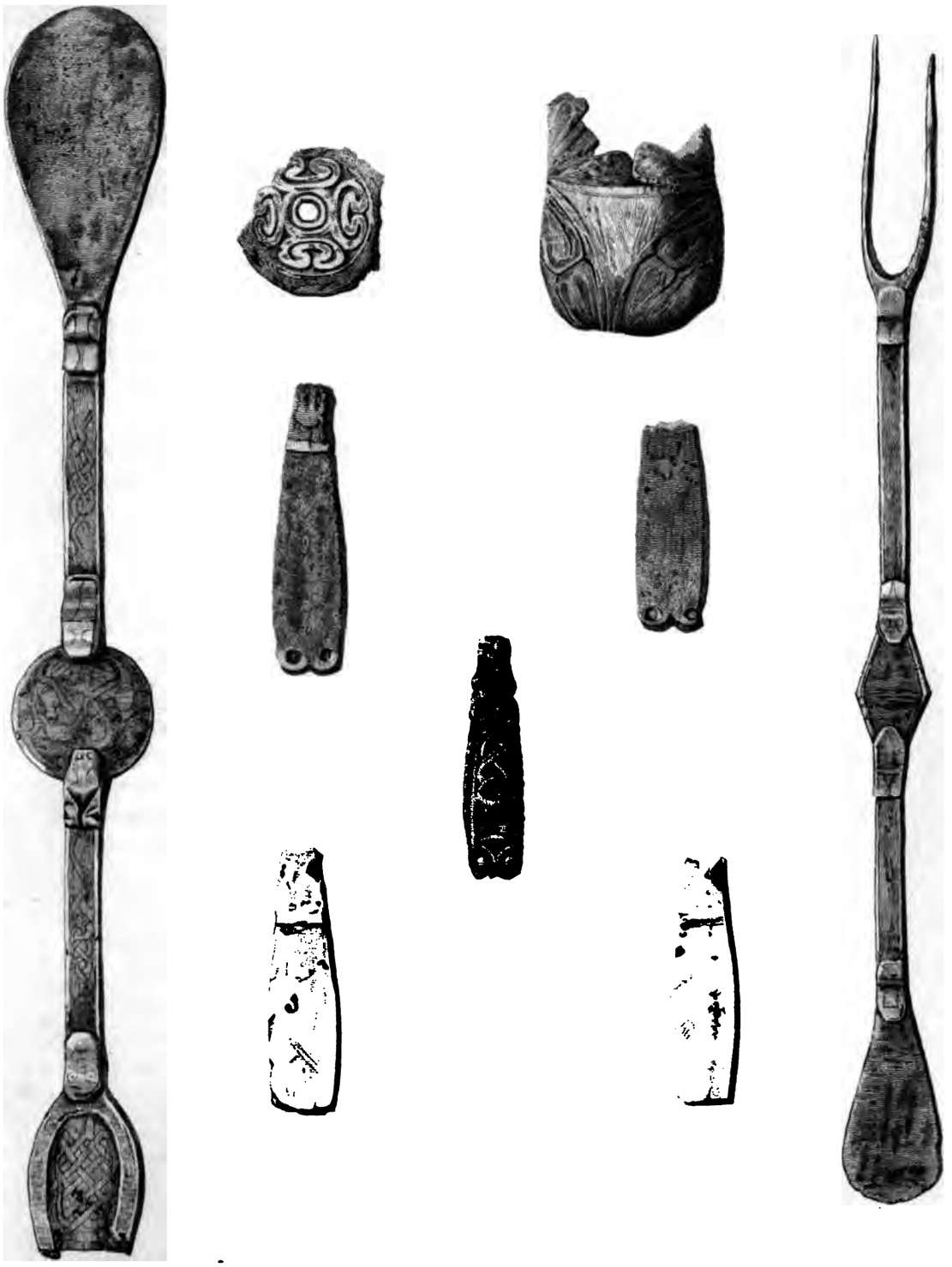
Fig. 10 scarcely differs from Ruding, plate ix. fig. 9; upon that coin there is not any division between the letters, and ET might belong to the preceding



Saxon Pennies found at Sevington in North Wilts. 1834.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 28th 1838





Spoon, Fork, and fragments of silver and brass, found at Sevington.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 25th 1838

or subsequent letters; the author has considered the moneyer's name to be MON, it is, however, more probably ETMON, the two first letters being separated from the preceding by three dots, upon the coin before us.

The fork, spoon, circular ornament, and fragments of silver and brass found with the coins, are delineated to the full size in Plate XXIV.

The fork, which has two prongs, weighs 7 dwts. 14 grs. and the spoon 18 dwts. 23 grs., and there is an accordance in the style of workmanship of both, the spoon retaining traces of the Runic knot over parts of it, which is not seen in the fork. Both are remarkable for the flatness, as well as the shape of the centres and extremities of their handles. The Runic pattern is found on the circular ornament and some of the fragments, and there can be no doubt that all the objects are of the same age, and unquestionably Anglo-Saxon work. By reference to the dates of the reigns of the monarchs with whose coins these objects were found, it will appear that they must probably have been made before the close of the ninth century.

When the objects were first discovered, some antiquaries, before they had had the opportunity of examining them, hesitated to admit the genuineness of the fork; or at least its claim to the high antiquity attributed to it. The doubts were probably the result of impressions fixed in the mind by the following curious passage in Coryates Crudities:

" Here I will mention a thing that might have been spoken of before in discourse of the first Italian Towne. I observed a custome in all those Italian Cities and Townes through which I passed, that is not used in any other country that I saw in my travels, neither doe I thinke that any other nation of Christendome doth use it, but only Italy. The Italian, and also most strangers that are commorant in Italy, doe alwaies at their meales use a little forke when they cut the meate; for while with their knife, which they hold with one hand, they cut the meate out of the dish, they fasten their forke which they hold in their other hand upon the same dish, so that whatsoever he be that sitteth in the company of any others at meate, should unadvisedly touch the dish of meate with his fingers, from which all at the table doe cut, he will give occasion of offence unto the company, as having transgressed the lawes of good manners, insomuch that for his error he shall be at the least brow-beaten, if

not reprehended in wordes. This forme of feeding I understand is generally used in all places of Italy, their forkes being for the most part made of yron or steele, and some of silver, but those are used only by gentlemen. The reason of this their curiosity is, because the Italian cannot by any meanes indure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing all men's fingers are not alike cleane. Hereupon I myselfe thought good to imitate the Italian fashion by this forked cutting of meate, not only while I was in Italy, but also in Germany, and oftentimes in England, since I came home: being once quipped for that frequent using of my forke, by a certaine learned gentleman, a familiar friend of mine, one Mr. Laurence Whitaker, who in his merry humour doubted not to call me Furcifer, only for using a forke at feeding, but for no other cause." [a]

The impression made by this passage was, that forks were scarcely known before the time of Coryate, not only in England but upon the Continent, whereas an accurate examination of it ought to have led to the conclusion, that in Italy at least the use of these articles was of long standing and universal occurrence; and it is not improbable that their use had never ceased from the time of the Romans.

In the works of Count Caylus and Mons. Grivaud are drawings of Roman forks with two prongs, one found on the Appian Way,[b] and the other in the Gardens of the Senate,[c] at Paris, formerly the Luxembourg palace. The handle of the first of these instruments is in the form of deer's legs, and is indisputably of Roman workmanship.

In the Chronicon Placentinum[d] we find silver forks and spoons specially mentioned as in use in Piacenza in the fourteenth century. These facts, however, afford but little illustration of the objects which are the peculiar subject of this communication. It is tolerably certain that forks were not in use in this Island about the time of Coryate; but it is perfectly certain that such articles must have been known here in the ninth century, from the evidence of this disco-

[a] Coryat's Crudities, pp. 90, 91, ed. 1611.

[b] Recueil d'Antiquities, tom. iii. p. 312, planche lxxxiv.

[c] Antiquités Gauloises et Romaines recuellies dans les Jardins du Palais du Senat, &c. Par C. M. Grivaud, Paris 1807.

[d] Et utuntur taciis, cugiariis, et forcellis argenti. Chron. Placent. Muratori, tom. xvi. p. 582.

very at Sevington. That the fork and spoon have been found in close juxtaposition with coins of that century, unmixed with other productions of a later period, would be of itself sufficient evidence of their contemporaneous antiquity. The fabric and the ornaments with which the fork and spoon are decorated would, to the practised eye, be quite sufficient evidence of the approximate era of their manufacture. The combination of these circumstances cannot leave a doubt upon the mind of the most prejudiced, that the fork and spoon, for whatever purpose they may have been intended, whether sacred or domestic uses, were manufactured in the ninth century.

I am, dear Sir Henry,

yours faithfully,

EDWARD HAWKINS.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

XXII. *Instructions by Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, to his son Algernon Percy, touching the management of his Estate, Officers, &c. written during his confinement in the Tower: Communicated by* James Heywood Markland, *Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read June 1 and 8, 1837.

THESE Instructions were transcribed by Mr. Malone from a MS. preserved in the library at Petworth, and by the late Earl of Egremont I was authorised to lay them before the Society of Antiquaries. They form the second of three treatises, all of which were written by Henry Earl of Northumberland, and addressed to his son. The first, written in 1595, consists of thirty-three pages, and is without a title; but we may gather from the introductory paragraph of the following paper, that its object was similar to the present one.

The third treatise is entitled "Instructions for the Lord Percy in his Travells," and has been printed at length in the "Antiquarian Repertory."[a]

[a] Vol. iv. p. 374, ed. 1809. In these Instructions his son is directed "to attain the *Tongues*;" to make diligent researches into the *Laws* of different countries, the *tenures* of land, their *commodities*, the *people*, their *manners*, *dress*, *exercises*, and *diseases*. The writer observes, with truth, "These things are not difficult to enquire, and they will ask but the enquiring to learn them."—Again, "What you observe of worthe take notes of; for when you list to take a reweu, the leaves of yowr bookes are easylyer turnd over, then the leaves of yowr memory."

On the subject of *religion* the writer seems anxious that his son should continue a Protestant, and he advises him to shun intemperance and excesses on the score of health. Higher motives are not urged; but "Remember," he says, with good feeling, "that you must dye an Englishe man, and love your owen home best, for I know not where yow can be markt with soe good a blessing as God and yowr Countrey hathe markt you withall."

Not being possessed of any fresh original materials,[b] I have no intention of giving a biographical memoir of the author, derived as it must be from sources which are open to all; but it may not be useless to recall to the readers of the following paper, a few of the leading events of his life.

Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, was born in 1564. His father Henry, the eighth Earl, terminated his life in the Tower in 1585, under lamentable circumstances well known, and to which his son alludes in a few guarded words.[c]

"He was one of those stars," says Sir Walter Scott, "who shot madly from their spheres in the cause of the Queen of Scots, and was supposed to have entered with Lord Paget and Throckmorton into a plot for setting her at freedom."[d] How far he was implicated, seems doubtful; Camden evidently regards him as an innocent man, and alludes significantly to "spies having been sent up and down the country to take notice of people's discourse and lay hold of their words, and that reports of vain and idle stories were countenanced and credited."

Upon his death, his son, having just attained his majority, came into possession of his splendid inheritance, and he has described in strong language the many evils which beset him at this critical period, when parasites and faithless friends appear to have "squeezed the young voluptuous heir." Nor was he, by his own account, fortunate in the choice of his wife. This lady was Dorothy, the daughter of Walter Devereux, the first Earl of Essex, and the widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, Knt.[e] with whom he intermarried in

[b] The late Earl of Egremont most kindly offered to my examination the collection of Percy MSS. at Petworth, but that nobleman's death, long to be deplored for far weightier reasons, prevented my being able to avail myself of this permission.

[c] Vide post. pp. 321, 322. According to Camden and other authorities the Earl was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets near his left breast; his chamber-door was barred on the inside, and a verdict of self-murder was returned.

[d] Somers's Tracts, i. 212.

[e] Sir T. Perrot's was a stolen match, and was celebrated under extraordinary circumstances. Two men guarded the church door, with their swords and daggers under their cloaks. A strange minister performed the service "hastily without the surplice, in his cloak, with his riding boots and

1594. Their tempers may not have assimilated, and slight differences may have been aggravated by the wrongs, real or supposed, which the Earl considered that he had sustained from his wife's relations, especially from Robert Earl of Essex, her brother. The unhappy terms upon which this couple lived may be gathered not only from these "Instructions," but from the following entry furnished me by my friend Mr. Hunter:

"1602. Nov. 6. I heard that the Earl of Northumberland lives apart *again* from his Lady, now she hath brought him an heir, which he said was the solder of their reconcilement. She lives at Sion House with the child, and plays with it, being otherwise of a very melancholy spirit."[e]—(Harl. MS. 5353.)

Brave as he might have been in war, the low estimate which the Earl had formed of the female sex, and which he also evinced by his conduct, gives a most unfavourable colour to his character, and proves that, although "the age of chivalry" was not then passed, its spirit did not animate *his* bosom. According to Ruthven's letter, the Earl on one occasion dishonorably assaulted "a worthy and virtuous Gentlewoman, and afterwards dispersed abroad certain infamous verses to defame her honor."[f] Conduct more unworthy a true knight than this cannot well be imagined.

spurs." The Lady "being a daughter of one of the ancient noblesse (though she herself was in the plot), this marriage gave great offence."—Strype's Life of Aylmer (Oxf. ed. 1821), p. 217.

[e] Mr. Hunter remarks: "I have sometimes thought that Shakespear sought to engage the public sympathy in behalf of this Lady, by representing the Lady Percy in Henry IV. in so amiable a light, at a time when the wife of the existing Percy was treated with neglect by her husband, and especially as she was the sister of Essex, the friend of Southampton, Shakespear's great friend and patron."

Her burial at Petworth is thus entered: "1619. August. Dorothie, that thrice honourable and right vertuous Lady the Countes of Northumberland; her corps was interred in the Chappell on the 14 of this month." According to Lysons this Lady's burial is also registered at Isleworth, and he naturally assumes that her interment occurred at that place. Environs of London, vol. iii. p. 112.

[f] Cabala, 356. "The writer was probably the Hon. P. Ruthven, 5th son of William 4th Lord Ruthven and Dirleton. He was an eminent physician, and was confined many years in the Tower of London, whence he was released in 1619. His daughter married Vandyck."—Retrosp. Review, vol. ii. 2nd Ser. p. 30.

In 1601 he was present at the siege of Ostend, and was perhaps induced to join the army by the persuasions of a class of persons alluded to in the Instructions. There began his quarrel with Sir Francis Vere, and the letters which passed between them in 1602 probably pourtray their characters in lively colours; the Earl intemperate and hot-headed, his opponent cool, collected, and respectful.

The arbitrary proceedings adopted against this nobleman in 1605 by James I., chiefly at the instigation of his political antagonist Cecil, form the most important feature in his life. The following extract from Cecil's letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes of the 2nd December 1605, while it details grounds of suspicion against the Earl, shews how slender was the foundation upon which they rested, and the writer's apparent mistrust of the proceedings which he himself had been so instrumental in instituting.

"The conspirators, in all the traitorous consultations, were very careful to preserve such noblemen as were Catholics from the blow; for which purpose Catesby naming Montagu, Mordaunt and Stourton, and Percy [g] others, it appeared, that those three were absent without just occasion; and that Catesby had told his complices, which are left alive, a good while before the discovery, that he was sure those three should be absent. Whereupon, those men's religion considered, and the continual conversation in which the principal conspirators had lived these three years last past with these men, their dearest friends; His Majesty, and this State, could do no less than they have done, in making sure of their persons; which being granted, you know there is no other prison for the nobility, especially in any question for matter of State, but the Tower of London; a matter, wherein I enlarge myself for the form; because you may the better satisfy your own judgment in the like course taken with the Earl of Northumberland, on whom though it cannot be cast that he was absent, yet, because Percy only named him and the

[g] Thomas Percy, the conspirator, was the grandson of Jocelyn Percy, 4th son of Henry 4th Earl of Northumberland [See Collect. Top. & Gen. vol. ii.] and was at this time constable of Alnwick Castle and auditor to Henry the 9th Earl. To this unfortunate connexion the misfortunes which befel the latter may be mainly attributed.

Lord Monteagle, and that Monteagle had a letter of warning, together with the circumstances of Percy's inwardness, and his coming out of the North three days before the time, and his resort to the Earl not twenty hours before this villainy should have been acted, the presumption hath been thought sufficient likewise to commit him to the like place and custody, and thus much the rather, because the Earl, upon the death of the Queen, and after, had declared often to the King, that the Catholics had offered themselves to depend upon him, in all their courses, so far as, his Majesty making him know his pleasure, he doubted not but to contain them from any extremity."[h]

After a delay of seven months, the Earl was arraigned in the Star Chamber on the following charges:[i]

1st. That he had sought to be the head of the Papists, and to procure toleration; 2ndly. that he had admitted Percy to be a Gentleman Pensioner, without exacting from him the oath of supremacy; 3rdly. That after his restraint he had written two letters to his servants in the North, requesting them to take care that Percy did not carry off his money and rents; and in this had committed a threefold offence; 1st. in presuming to write letters without leave; 2ndly. in preferring the safety of his money to the safety of the King; 3rdly. in giving warning to Percy to take care of his own person.

What were James's own feelings on this occasion may be gathered from a Petition of the Countess of Northumberland in 1612-13, where she says:

"Please your Majesty but to remember when I was an humble suitor some six years since for my Lord's liberty, when it had pleased your Majesty, out of your gracious dispositions, to free my Lord Mordaunt, and my Lord Stourton, I then laying open the smallness of the offences my Lord was sensured for; your Majesty said it was not for those sensures that he was so restrained, though his own kindred laid it upon him; but that your Majesty must have a care of the safety of your own barnes, which I hope time hath given you understanding how little those feares are to be fostered in the harte

[h] Birch's Historical View of the Negotiations between England, France, and Brussels, p. 244.

[i] These charges will be found set out at length in Collins's Peerage (3rd edit.) iv. 132, but the concise abridgment of them by Dr. Lingard has been here quoted. Hist. of England, vol. ix. p. 90.

of a King ruling over dutiful subjects, and not to fall after so long time to so severe a course for matter of proffit, because, as they say, none ever had so great need as your Majesty hath."

Of the Earl's occupations after his return from Ostend, he has furnished some particulars in a letter which he addressed to the Lords of the Council [11 Nov. 1605].

" Consider, I desire your Lordships, the course of my life, whether it hath not leaned more of late years to private domesticall pleasures than to other ambitions. Examine but my humours in buildings, gardenings, and private expences these two years past. Look upon those fewe armes at Sion, [k] my stable of horses at this instant, the dispersedness of them, and of my servants, the little concourse of followers, and your Lordships will finde they be very consonante one to another, and all of them to put by all jealousie."[1]

The Earl was finally adjudged to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, to be deprived of all his offices, to be incapable of holding any for the future, and to remain a prisoner for life in the Tower. The imprisonment was afterwards reduced to a period of fifteen years, and the fine was compounded for a sum of 11,000*l.*

" It appears almost incredible," observes Mr. Hallam, " that a man of his ability, though certainly of a dangerous and discontented spirit, and rather

[k] In a petition addressed to the King (14 April 1613), the Earl offers this place as a compensation for the oppressive fine imposed on him. " Sion, and please your Majesty, is the only land I can put away, the rest being entayled. I had it before your Majesty's happy entry 48 years by lease, without paying any rent, but such as was given back again, certain in other allowances. It hath cost me, since your Majesty bestowed it upon me, partly upon the house, partly upon the gardens, almost 9,000*l*, The lands, as it is now rented, and rated, is worth to be sold 8,000*l*. within a little more or lesse. If your Majesty had it in your hands, it would be better than 200*l*. a year more, by the copyholders estates, which now payeth but two years old rent fine; dealing with them, as you do with all your copyholders in England, is worth, at the least 3,000*l*. The house itself, if it were to be pulled down and sold, by view of workmen, comes to 8,000 and odde pounds. If any man, the best husband in building, should raise such another in the same place, 20,000*l*. would not do it; so as according to the work it may be reckoned at these rates 31,000*l*; and as it may be sold and pulled in pieces 19,000*l*. or thereabouts."

[1] Collins, iv. p. 135.

destitute of religion than a zealot for Popery, which he did not, I believe, openly profess, should have mingled in so flagitious a design.

"Every one must agree that the fine imposed on this nobleman was preposterous. Were we even to admit, that suspicion might justify his long imprisonment, a participation in one of the most atrocious conspiracies recorded in history was, if proved, to be more severely punished; if unproved, not at all." [m]

The series of letters given by Collins, tends strongly to vindicate his innocence. During a succession of years he addressed himself to the King and his ministers, to Lord Burleigh, whom he calls his uncle, and several other noblemen, with an impassioned earnestness, and apparent sincerity, that carry conviction in his favour. [n]

From year to year he preserves the same tone, never seeking to obtain favour by concessions, nor admitting the justice of his sentence; but from first to last, protesting both against the charge laid against him, and the rigour of his punishment.

When he heard that Percy was apprehended, having been shot through the shoulders, he declares to the Lords of the Council, that "none but he can shew me as clear as the day, or dark as the night. Therefore I hope it shall not offend you if I require haste, for now will he tell truly, if ever, being ready to make his account to God." This was not the language of a guilty man.

His long confinement was softened by the opportunities afforded him of associating with men of talent, and Mr. Fraser Tytler, in his interesting life of Raleigh,[o] has given us the following lively sketch of the Earl's habits and pursuits in the Tower:

"The eccentric Earl of Northumberland was imprisoned there at the same time with Raleigh, and continued within its walls for fifteen years, during which period he established a Literary and Philosophical Society in

[m] Hallam's Constitutional History, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 47.

[n] These letters form such a valuable illustration of the Earl's life, that they ought not to have been omitted in the last edition of Collins's Peerage. The same remark applies to the correspondence with Sir Francis Vere.

[o] Tytler's Life of Raleigh, p. 329.

his apartments, and diverted the melancholy confinement by keeping an open table for such men of learning and ingenuity as were permitted to visit him. Percy, who had been shut up on a suspicion of having some concern in the Gunpowder Treason, was a mathematician, a chemist, an astrologer, and a humorist. Splendid in his entertainments, and lavish of his immense wealth, he was ready to pay any sum for the company and conversation of men of genius.

" Hariot, Raleigh's master in the mathematics; Hughes, who wrote on the globes; and Warner, a scholar addicted to the same studies, received pensions from the Earl; and from the constancy with which they assisted their noble patron in his chemical experiments and astronomical calculations, received the names of his three Magi. Serjeant Hoskins the poet, whom Ben Jonson mentions as 'the person who had polished him,' was confined in the Tower about the same time, and whilst Sir Walter pursued his chemical researches with Northumberland and the Magi, he conversed on poetry, philosophy, and literature, with Hoskins."

About five years after this period, Birch observes, that " a new discovery was made, which brought his Lordship to another examination."

The affair is thus represented by the Earl of Salisbury, on the 25th of July 1611, to Sir Thomas Edmondes: " There was one Elkes, a servant of the Earl of Northumberland, and one who was no stranger to his secrets, who complained to some private friends (who yet kept it with no privacy), that he stood in some danger of his life, seeing he observed his Lord's affection to grow somewhat cold towards him, which he conceived could proceed from no other cause but jealousy, lest he should reveal some secrets, which he had revealed to him concerning the Powder Treason. This being discovered, the Earl was examined, and confessed two things: The one, that after he was committed to the Tower, and before he came to the Star Chamber, he wrote to his brother Sir Alan Percy, to take it upon him, that, by his means, Percy was admitted a Gentleman Pensioner to his Majesty, and suffered to escape the oath: the other, that he was made acquainted with the hiring of that house from whence the mine was made: both which facts he had strongly denied before. And though they be not, says Lord Salisbury, of such nature (in regard they do not necessarily enforce

the knowledge of the fact) as to call him to a tryal for life or lands; yet they serve to justify the former proceedings, those points being now cleared, which at that time were but presumed." [p]

Here again we perceive Cecil's anxiety to discover some grounds for justifying the severity exercised towards the Earl. If the latter was ignorant of the *object* for which the house was taken, or had thought it was hired for another purpose, the fact amounts to nothing; and Cecil throughout this letter seems to consider that the admission by the Earl of certain charges formerly denied by him is the chief accusation against him. This may not have been creditable to the Earl's veracity; but it does not make him a conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot.

The following Work occasionally presents some curious traits of domestic manners (particularly amongst the higher ranks of females of the author's own time), and some remarks, not devoid of acuteness; but it does not lead us to regard the author himself as a man either of an enlarged or of an amiable mind. In worldly wisdom he was assuredly not deficient; but his precepts are those of one who took a most prejudiced and unfavourable view of human nature.

He inculcates no religious principles; few moral obligations, or kindly affections; and, if this tract is to be regarded as "a window into the writer's heart," to use the words of honest Fuller, the poet has not expressed himself too severely, when he speaks of

> "That hideous sight, the *naked* human heart."

How striking is the contrast presented between the crooked counsels of this nobleman, and the excellent advice given by Sir Henry Sydney to his son Philip: "Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of, and think that only by a virtuous life and good actions you may be an ornament to your illustrious family." Still, a large share of candour and indulgence should be extended towards the writer. "A great estate," says Bacon, "left to an heir is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment." [q] The Earl was placed in this hapless situation entirely uncontrolled, and apparently

[p] Birch's Historical View, p. 246.

[q] Essay on Riches.

without one good adviser. Hence he grew up distrustful of mankind; so much so, that we must agree with Johnson, "it is happier to be sometimes cheated than not to trust."

The encouragement which he bestowed upon men of learning, and the enjoyment which he received in their society, are redeeming points in his character.

The conduct of James towards him during many of the best years of his life was in the highest degree tyrannical, oppressive, and ungenerous, and could only have tended to stifle every spark of generosity in the bosom of his prisoner.

At the very time this MS. was penned, the Earl was possibly labouring under that sickness of heart, which arises from hope deferred; and even a disposition naturally brave, open, and generous, might, from the continued operation of adverse circumstances, be so injuriously wrought upon as at length to become the seat of suspicion, selfishness, and other unamiable feelings.

The Earl survived his release from the Tower about twelve years, and this period, we are told, he passed chiefly at Petworth,[r] where he died in 1632.

In Petworth Church, on a brass plate fixed to the pavement of the chapel of St. Thomas, now concealed by pews, is the following inscription:

"Here lyeth interred the body
of Henry Lord Percy,
the ninth Earle of Northumberland
of that family, and the
Fifth that had y^e^ order of y^e^ Garter,
who died the fifth day of
November,[s] in y^e^ yeare of o^r^ Lord 1632,
and the 70 of his age."

[r] See a lively description of a scene which occurred at this mansion in 1620, between the Lord Viscount Lisle and the Lord Doncaster, sons-in-law of the Earl of Northumberland, and in which the Earl himself was a principal actor.—Sydney Papers, vol. i. p. 121.

[s] In the register the Earl's burial is entered as having taken place on the 6th November, the day after his death. Considering the high rank of the party, and the preparations customary on such occasions, this is extraordinary. Perhaps his disease was of a malignant character.

INSTRUCTIONS BY HENRY PERCY, NINTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, TO HIS SON ALGERNON PERCY, TOUCHING THE MANAGEMENT OF HIS ESTATE, OFFICERS, &c. WRITTEN DURING HIS CONFINEMENT IN THE TOWER.[a]

AN. 1609.

THIS discours, which concerneth Officers and Servants, written fourteen years after the former, wherein I begonne to bestow upon yow my last gift, a will and testemony continewing in me, and still must, soe long as I have a care to amend in yow the errors I have found in my selfe, perhaps delivered out of glory to see what I could say, or out of good will to instructe yow what yow ought to doe, or mixt of boeth for boeth ends; yett howsoever written, if yow make yowr profitt thereby, I obtaine one of my ends. Wonder not at the alteration of the style, whiche perhaps yow may fynd; for ether I have gott mutche since that tyme, in looking after other matters of greater waight, or loste mutche forme in phrase, which youth commonly pleaseth it selfe with. In this, the chiefe precepts I am to deliver, are the accidents that hath oftenest befaulne me of this economicall nature, things likeliest to be more exemplary to yow then to others, because yow are to

[a] Although Mr. Malone states that the date of 1609 is the heading of the original MS., there is reason to suspect that it must have been written later, if the former code of instructions was prepared fourteen years previously for the use of the same person. Collins states that Earl Algernon was baptized 13 Oct. 1602; and see quotation from Harl. MS. 5353, ante (p. 308). Possibly the former MS. was drawn up by the Earl either upon his having a son prior to the birth of Earl Algernon, or prospectively in the event of his having an heir. There is proof that Algernon was not the first-born son. In the Sydney Papers (7th Nov. 1595) it is stated, "My Lady of Northumberland is now knowen to be with child:" and again (2nd June 1597), "My Lord of Northumberland is much grieved at the death of the Lord Percy, his son." This explains an entry in the register of burials at Petworth, "1597, May 31, Henry Lord Percy." The period of 14 years, dated from 1595, may thus be accounted for.

Several alterations in the orthography and phraseology of this MS. have been made by a later hand, perhaps that of Algernon tenth Earl of Northumberland, but I have constantly followed the original.—Malone.

follow me in my fortuns, place, and what I was borne to. If any thing comme in *obiter*, that is worthy the noting, theas precepts will shew yow it in the planest caracters I can devise; since I know that things planliest written are the best way for doctrine; and labored styles are but to please those who are more taken with shadows then with substances: therefore in this economycall government six Principells are to be observed, wherein if yow be your Arts' Master, great errors shall never be committed: three of them are for yowr selfe to doe; other three are for yow to know will be donne by officers for the most part. Bycause men are men, you must not thinke to fynd gods of them for knowledge, nor saints for lyfe; they must be subject to there affections and passions; they will chewse that whiche they shall thinke to be best for those ends they aime at, although there conclusions will be but parologismes and ignorances, if well disgested, as most things under the sonne are: and I see not how it can be otherwyse, especially in them; since officers are men for the most part, if it be well marked, but of the ordinary straine of understanding, or if they chance to be of hieher conceite, then shall yow find it most commonly but in somme one particular, in whiche they have bene mutche beaten and most conversant in: or if otherwyse it faule out that they be extraordinary in generall for knowledge, they will never incline and yelde to that occupation, if not ledde on ether by yongenes of years, which must have beginnengs to enter the world, or some sloethfull or licentious humors that are there masters for the tyme: but commonly want is the mane agent to make them runne that cours. Thus mutche I say, bycause yow may see what there diseases are; and, there diseases discovered, yow shall be the better able to minister fitt remedye, to satisfy them and not hurt your selfe. For I say, not to give succor and reliefe after that proportion yow are able, out of yowr fortuns, to sutche as waste there tyme in yowr busines, is inhumanitee and dishonorable; and for them to gaine by deceite from yow [that] whiche is not fitt for yow to give, is wickednes in them, and folly in yow to lett goe: whereas, using the contrary, yow shall be able to give more with lesse losse to yowr selfe, and they prove to gaine more in the ende, with more honesty to them selfes. And this I must truely testify for servants, out of experience, that in all my fortuns, good and badde, I have found them more reasonable then ether wyfe,

brothers, or freinds; and why it should be soe the case is manyfest. A wyfe can be but a woman, subiect to mutche weakenes, and yett there passions and desiers stronge, if not stronger then others: brothers yonge and inconsiderat in the former part of there years, (if not somme rare and extraordinary nature,) whose humors, if not satisfyed to the full, as they conclude is due to them owt of the rights of birth, being borne of one flesche and blood, or as somme shall tickell there fancies with the defence of an equalite to be most iust and consonant to reason, presently they will be angry with lawes that hath made a difference, and with the elders if they share not to the proportion of there desiers. The last of theas, whiche concerne freinds, I have found soe many and soe weke-harted in cases of adversite, inclining soe mutche to the over-loving of there owen perticulars, that the very respects of common humanytee and fortitude hath bene laid aside.

The principells that I mynd to give yow a tast of, are theas:

First, that yow understand your estate generally better then any of your officers.

Secondly, that yow never suffer yowr wyfe to have poore[b] [power] in the manage of yowr affairs.

Thirdly, that yowr gifts and rewards be yowr owen, withowt the intercession of others.

The other three that is to be observed to procede from your officers and servants, are theas:

4. All men love there owen eases and them selfes, best.

5. Envy will ever be hatched where multytudes are drawen together.

6. Men easely will not be removed out of a tracke of lyfe once entred into; for the effects at hand are ever more perswasive and apparent then thos which are more remote, whiche will ever seme more impossible and hard.

[b] This mode of pronouncing the word power was carried over to Ireland in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and remains to this day in the pronunciation of the family of that name in the South.—Malone.

FIRST CHAPTER.

These six chapters following[c] endeavour to lay open the three principells and three cautions already given, by way of reason and experience as I have found them mixt together.

The first principell, that enjoyns you to understand your own estate generally better then any [of] your officers is very plaine, the very best at the first cast of your thought thereupon. And I say the father commits no smaule faulte towards his sonne, that labors him not in it in his yong years; for ordinarily I have marked that all men that consumeth there estates, are for the most part ignorant what they have; what the worth of it is; what the perticular commoditees thereof may be; how difficulte it is to gather together soe mutche; not apprehending the very bulke of sutche sommes, as that would be, being sold or bought. In great expenses very few hath ever seen together the hundreth part of that was wasted; and princes that hath ever bene frugall, in my observation, hath bene acquainted with the grosse of there treasure at somme tymes, with there owen eies. The humor is soe tickling and easy, when any affections or desiers doe move, to say,—" boroughe, sell, buy, pay, give,"—as the evill is not knowen before the smart is felt; and yett shall he never behold more for it, then an Auditors collection once in a yeare, or once in his lyfe, perhaps never. That this principell is manifest, true, and sound, I must use theas reasons and experiences for proofe. Boeth in ancient tymes and in latter years they have bene held in great honor, that knew most. Often tymes they were reputed as gods, whose understandings did soe excell others, that it was believed nothing could lye secrett from there knowledges, whether the knowledge grew by inspiration or by art or by deceit or by intelligence, or what way soe ever; or in what kind of government soe ever; yett did it fixe in men awe, obedience, reverence, honor. In the same sort must yowr understanding above your ser-

[c] The writer has only left the first *three* chapters; notwithstanding which, his work is nearly complete, for his division is inartificial, and the whole ought to have been comprised in three chapters. His three *cautions* (as he calls them) should have made part of the *first* chapter; and, in fact, in that chapter he has touched some of the topics which he proposed as the subject of the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters.—Malone.

vants worke the same effects, in this degree of economicall carriage: for beliefe it, servants are never bold to deceave, but when they find the master weake or carelesse by over believing; and I must needs say, that it is the masters falt, if an evell and dishonest servant serve him long. Masters may know very well there is but few mane knowledges required in this businesse, and that is, ether skill in his owen affairs, or to gaine true informations out of faithfulnes of the servant, or out of factions. The first of theas I have soe explayned and labored by bookes of survays, plotts of mannors, and records, that the fault will be yowr owen, if yow understand them not in a very short tyme better then any servant you have: they are not difficult now they are donne; they are easy, and yett cost me mutche tyme and mutche expence to reduce them into order. By them shall yow direct and see, when yowr causes procede well or evell, slowly or swiftely; and it is not my meaning to make yow a slave to yowr welthe, or a whole acting instrument to yowr profitt; for that were base, too mutche tasting of the clowne, and losse of tyme from more worthy matters, that yowr cauling and place will showe yow to. For yow to sitt at the helme of yowr owen estate, to direct well with expedition and ease, will be a means of upholding yowr honor with a good report, without the dislike of yowr neighbours, whose goods otherwyse necessyte will cause yow to covett. The other two points, concerning the art of informations, will more properly faule in the 5. cap. then in this; therefore till then I will suspend them, and telle yow what myne owen experience hathe taught me in my lyfe tyme to be true, in this case of ignorance of myne owen fortuns.

At my first entrance into the governing of myne owen, after the death of yowr grandfather, and I being yonge, my fathers officers[d] adhered to me; almoste all of them; somme of them to my mother;[e] as commonly yow shall

[d] The economy of every nobleman's house was formed on the model of the Royal Establishment. He had his Master of the Horse, his Cofferer, his Auditor, Clerk of the Kitchen, Yeoman of the Chamber, Steward of the Household, Comptroller, &c. &c.; and these were all called his *Officers.*—Malone.

[e] Katharine, eldest daughter and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, and Lady Lucy Somerset his wife. Another daughter married Sir Thomas Cecil (eldest son of Lord Treasurer Burghley), afterwards the first Earl of Exeter.

ever fynd the wyfe will have the second choise: for servants' dispositions are sutche, that they will rather elect to be a principall officer in a lesse house, then a second in a greater, if the difference be not very mutche unequall, ether out of meanes or other circumstances. Yett all of them packed[f] together to serve there owen turns, one excepted, whos humor was a littel sowrer then the rest; thinking to gaine by good desert of me, not considering that the disabilitee of my judgement in thes matters could minister noe understanding to make true distinction betwene plaine dealing and flattery: yett was he a chiefe adviser in my fathers tyme, to kepe me from the knowledge of myne owen; partely to please, for aged fathers commonly loveth not to see there children gape after there dissolution (how well soe ever they love them) if not all together the better temperd and wyser; partely out of an ancient education in our country receaved, proceding from the austerite of parents, then more used then now; and I thinke the severite of the churche was one principall cause, in imitation of whiche we were ledde on to this custom:—(why the churche should have it in estimation, I leave it to farther thoughts). But this one thing is worthy by way of note, that men commonly, of what vocation soe ever they be, crosse there owen designs by there owen fore acts, in that they most labor to attaine to. This is true, whether the desier of man be for honors, lyberty, or welthe, etc.; for there is ever somwhat apperes to be good for the present, that beguiles them or theirs in ther mane ends. At the same tyme when the thirds came to disposing and dividing, they blessed me with another good turne, that turned to my losse afterwards; for they made me pass to yowr grandmouther, for part of her jointer, all the western lands; whereby she receaved more fynes in her lyfe tyme, being but 120^{lb} yearely, then I did of all the lands I had in England besides; I paing the rest of her jointer by equall portions yearely; soe as she receaved all the best profitt that the western lands would afforde, and the rest, without trooble or care, was laid at her doores.

An other good turne, ether out of discretion or out of faithfull love to there masters eldest sonne, was added to this, whiche I thinke there consciences did not tell them was there old masters will; for, if ever father loved a sonne, he did me, (and whether his death was sutche as vulgarely it

[f] Packed—combined.

was bruted,[f] is not for this place), only this I must say and conclude, that his care was to leave me well to mayntaine the honor of his house, behind him; his servants hath often confessed it to me, soe as they could not be ignorant, nor I beliefe otherwyse; yett as I sayd before, breathe was noe sowner owt of his mouth, from whom they had all there means or most part, but that they procured letters of administration for yowr grandmouther, the goods being forfited, a bloe of tenne thowsand pound to me; so as I came to be an Erle of Northumberland soe well left for moveables, as I was not worthe a fyer-shovell or a paire of tongs: what was left me was wainscotts or things revited with nales, for wyfes commonly are great scratchers after there husbands deaths, if things be loose. Somme answer, that of right it was hers; yett may it be replyed, that out of conscience somwhat ought to have bene left and reserved. If these had bene yong servants, and new commers, the wonder had bene the lesse; but they were cousens,[g] old servants, councellers, and sutche, as somme of them had told 15 years, somme 20, in his service. They had there rewards out of the western lands, that yelded them three lyfes in reversion, whiche advantage my mouther gott, and they gave her, knowing the tenure of thos lands yelded that poore [power] out of the custom of the mannors. The ground and roote of all theas absurdites I can attribute to nothing more then want of knowledge in myne owen estate, an ignorance fostered in me by my fathers concealing of that was fitt for me to have bene made acquainted withall, ether to cause obedience in keping me under, or to hinder prodigall expence in somme smaule tryfles.[h] Hand in hand with theas followed many inconveniences that

[f] See ante, p. 307.

[g] This passage gives a curious feature of ancient times. All the minor branches of every family looking up to the *Chief*, those for whom he could not make any other provision he employed either as officers or servants. This custom prevailed in Ireland in the middle of the last (18th) century.—Malone.

[h] We shall find the Earl again deploring this want of confidence on the part of his father, and perhaps the same conduct is always attended with similar results. "A spendthrift son, it is said, ought not to be told the value of his expectations. The objection that he will anticipate and waste the property, is scarcely specious. To inculcate prudence, give a son a suitable education, and apprise him fully of the circumstances in which he is placed. Every one's experience will acknowledge that mystery is the bane of domestic happiness, and that unreserved disclosure is the best promoter of it." Evidence of Mr. Bickersteth (now Lord Langdale) on the Establishment of a General Register, April 1832.

my tyme hath tasted of; and the ground, as I sayd before, by not being taught the secretts of my estate, before I had use thereof.

Being thus well fitted of officers, as yow have hard, followed then my iudgement of electing the rest of my servants, every one making most hast, whoe should preferre them selfes and there freinds the soonest, for the harvest was grone rype and fitt for the sickel, since want of experience made me negligent in picking men out fittest for my profitt, though wyse enoughe to chuse them answerable to my humor; whiche was, to be yong, handsomme, brave, swaggering, debaucht, wilde, abbetting all my yong desiers; and all theas had their shares with me in my littel fortun; somme out of wastefull expences that they nourished in the house, others out of gaine of clothes out of my creditt in mercers' and silkmen's shopps; others by defalking[i] part of debts from the true owners, using delayes of payments to my creditors, if they did not condescend: baffeling[k] my honor by this fowle dishonesty, to [too] common in the world emongst servants of carelesse masters: other, out of false disbursements in extraordinary expences, being favoritts of the chiefer officers;—and mutche more out of want of good counsaille from these greene heads to give, and my selfe to take, not being apted as then out of want of teaching before. Then were my felicites, bycause I knew noe better, halkes, hounds, horses, dice, cards, apparell, mistresses; and all other riott of expence that follow them, were soe farre afoote and in excesse, as I knew not where I was, or what I did, till, out of my means of 3000^{lb} yearely, I had made shift in one yeare and a halfe to be 15000^{lb} in debt: soe as the burden of my song must still conclude ignorance in myne estate to be the mayne cause. Somme may say, good counsells were noe strangers to myne eares, for many bestowed them liberally upon me; but I must returne my reply, that they were not to my iudgment and understanding, though to myne eares; and all bycause my father had not labored me in that I was capable of. It is most true that Tyme will teache sunns in long tyme, otherwyse cauled experience, without instructions of parents; but fathers commonly are inclined to flatter them selfes soe mutche with the length of there yeares, as they committ many irrevocable errors by

[i] Defalking—subtracting—diminishing.

[k] Baffeling—disgracing.

way of deferring. Thus being faulen into creditors' clamors, a greater discontent to me then somme other, my lands being intaled, all our witts fell a consulting how this burden might be eased, my mynde then being overwearyed with the sutes of poore people, whose goods I had, and could not satisfy: each calling for his owen; and poore creaters waiting at every corner made me thinke a backe doore an honest sally to escape ther importunites; a disease that hanteth an honest mynd and a great debt. Well;—woods weare concluded the next means of reliefe, soe as the axe was put to the tree, and officers being forward to cleare them selfes of there bonds,[1] least an untymely deathe might give them future troobles, made soe spedy sales as within a few years was sold the valew of 20,000^{lb}, well worth 50,000^{lb}, to Jewellers and Silkemen, making there nests in the branches. I cannot chuse but note my ignorance in this amōgest the rest, and there carelessenes in the husbandry to be noe lesse. In steed of preserving of woods that might easely have bene raysed, the memory of good trees in rotten rootes doeth appere above ground at this day, being forced now for the fewell reliefe of your house at Petworth,[m] to sowe acorns, where as I might have had plenty, if ether they had had care, or I knowledge: but if yow conceave that others will cast there thoughts soe often and attentively of your affaiers, as yow will doe yowr selfe, if yow understand them, yow will fynd yowr selfe deceaved in the reckoning and learn the experience by losse. Here rested not the cours of my infrugalyte; for, althoughe indiscrete sales did give me somme ease, soe withall it intised me on in the mean tyme, being fedde with a continuall supply; for, not understanding what was done in theas untymely bargains, and those abowt me wanting charite to teache me the errors I runne, I learned nothing at that present (but short precepts somme tymes by way of discours, a fashion of doctrine that many thinke they doe well in, bycause they understand the matter them selfes, not understanding that a yonge witt must be ledde on in a more serious advise, whiche for the most parte men ether knoweth not how to manage, or will not take the

[1] Bonds which they had entered into, to raise money for their master.—Malone.

[m] The writer, before his confinement in the Tower, usually passed his summer at Alnwick. He had now been four years confined, and his son Algernon, to whom this discourse is addressed, it appears resided at Petworth, probably for the sake of being near his father.—Malone.

payns how to effect;) whereby I might be induced to holde my hands in other matters following; for easy supplyes and prodigall expences doe ever stryve who shall be formost. Now, woods being goen, fynes only rested to comme in play, the grasse being cutt under my feete for my western lands, as yow hard before. Northumberland, Cumberland and Sussex, being but coppiholders of inheritance, would yeald nothing. A littel pittance in Yorkshire remayned, wherein commodites might be raysed. The tenants having somme few years to comme, by perswasion of officers, I renewed there estates for twenty-one years; made 1700^{lb} fyne, and lost by that bargaine almost 5000^{lb} a yeare till the tyme was expired. The benifitts y^{t} fell to my share, was, that the tenants prayed God to blesse there worshipps, waited on them to all there pleasuers; feasted them and lodged them well:—littel bribes now and then was discovered to be taken; great ones I doubt not were had, thoughe carried more closely; and thus in pompe, iyngeling uppe and downe the cuntry with there gilt bosses and studded trappers, there tales being at ease upon soft seates, weare auguries of an evell turne towards me, and a warning to yow to eschew glorious officers and servants, as a peste to yowr estate. And could any thing be imputed to be the reason of this, (since in myne owen tyme it hathe bene amended,) but the want of knowledge of myne owen?—Lands were sold, and more would have bene if I could, at under rates. For other petty and scattered demyses, I will only remember in the cateloge of the account; wherein my ignorance (for I will ley it upon nothing else) lost me, what in letters of administration,—in partition of thirds,—in giving in honnymoone tyme, or unadvisedly,—in sales of woods, —in demises of lands, and sale of somme littel,—60,000^{lb} or 70,000^{lb}.

Things being brought to this passe, and my hands being tyed from a farther expence, then a-yearely comming in, most of theas ancient officers drew there necks from under the yoke, and left me to care for my selfe. Well; within a littel tyme theas errors having unmasked them selfes to me, I beganne to take up, and to take to myne owne affaires; partely constrayned by an imperfection that God laid upon me, to caule me backe, partely out of necessitee, soe as in tyme I redemed my selfe out of the disquiet of disgusted thoughts, endevoring to hugge in my arms faithfull servants, iewells, to to [too, too] precious! and to discarde sutche as my knowledge told me

were corrupt instruments to me. I must confesse I was forced to discard to the very kitching boyes, before things could be settled as I wished; for yow shall ever fynd it, servants will strive what they can to uphold any lyberte winked at before, if any one of a former corrupt familee be left; and it is strange that in a household where men are gathered together from all the corners of the world, not likely to continew in that state two years to an ende, how strongely they will pleade custom, if it be but a lofe of bredde or a cann of bere, (whiche when they have they will give it to doggs rather then lose it,)—with a proverbe, "the lord payeth for all."—In the ende I lighted of thos who lyked me well, after many discardings, the triall being sufficiently confermed by servants of seventeen years standing, and most of 14, 12, 10, continuances, and soe now more likely to continew then ever. I will not be soe selfe conceited, to say, it was my governement and understanding did bring this about wholy; nether will I lay it upon fortun in my choise, for that were childische to him that knoweth that there is nothing without a cause; but I will conclude my understanding myne owen affairs, althoughe but in a mean degree, and there understanding that honesty is best, where dishonesty is in hasard to be discovered, were somwhat reciprocall in this act: yett was not this soe feceable, that I had not somme evell measure offered in there carriages; nether could any way that ever I could use, free me from absolute coosenage, and the most frequent will be ever found in the meanest, whiche if it may not be helped as yow would, must be donne as well as yow can; for soe as mane [main] matters of this kind be cared for, the losse will be lesse in the lesse; whiche was not mutche materiall in my latter tyme, bycause then was littel matter to worke upon.

* * * *

Thos that yow have to governe in your family are of two sorts; the better, and the meaner. Of the better sort, especially of your cheefe instruments, there are few; and they in very deede, if yow understand them well, not properly soe fitt to derect the greatest businesses, as to execute the greatest businesses, and to direct the smauler; the prime direction being ever the master worke: otherwise shall yow be but a master in shew, not in deede. The meaner are only to execute the smauler businesses and to doe as they are bid; whiche yow shall fynd difficult enoughe to leade them to, althoughe

they can not lyve without yow, and will looke for a reward, bycause they have eate your meate: for it is impossible for any man of a great estate and of an eminent fortun in the world, to manage every perticuler well, without subordinat instruments. Therefore in some degrees must they be pleased that are yowr overseers, soe as yow make them not masters of yowr selfe by giving to [too] mutch poore in to there hands: an error yow will not kepe out from yow at the arms ende, unless yow be very circumspect and full of caution. If you trust over mutche, well may yow purchase ease, but withall danger of insolency in them, and contempt in the meaner sort, toward yowr commands: if to [too] reserved and over strickt, danger of losse of tyme in the spedy dispatche of that yow have to doe, with contempt of yowr meaner instruments towards them: for if the meaner sort see not trust conferred upon the chiefer, they will soone espy it, and groe to neglecte; on the other syde, if they discover to [too] mutche, they will quickely become there servants in harty obedience, and yowrs but in ceremony. To temper this well, yow must labor as mutche as may be, that your servants opinions of yow be venerable; soe shall yowr commandements be as laws to them, ether out of love or conceite; and I know noe better way, then that they may fynd yowr mynd inclined naturally to iustesse and severite, hiding from them any notable vice yow know to be in yowr selfe. Againe; to content your cheafe instruments, is, to give them hering of that they shall advise: if it happen there counsells to be unsound, shew them there errors out of reason; and rather make a falte in displeasing them, then yeald to that yow know shall not be good. If there counsells be sound, or happen to jumpe with that yow had concluded before in the inward of your determination, never attribute the same to yowr owen witt, but to there advise; soe shall yow please them; since it is against the nature of ordenary men to give counsell, if it be not believed or followed; and most men will hold there peaces, if every hower they be told they are fooles, by [your] not following what they say: for hardly shall yow meete with that love in servants that will always telle yow what he thinketh, without pressing to mutche or saying too littel. Precepts of this nature and somwhat depending of this, I leave to the following chapters for yowr collecting; and procede to my next observation. Yow being becomme your arts' master in this kind of trade,

this mischiefe emongst the rest will consequently be cut of [off] from hurting yow; I meane the indering of servants, a polecy ryfe in there commonwelthe, and a disease that great men are most subject to, and the greater the more subject to, if ether idel in there dispositions, or slack in there understandings; for once bring it but to passe, that yowr servants doe fynd that yow nede them not, and that if one be gonne to-day, yow can make an other doe yowr businesse as well to-morrow,[n] yow shall purchase to yowr selfe from them awe, respect, obedience, carefullnes, love, playne dealing, contentednes with lesse, and indeede all things else that belongeth to this mistery of governing;[o] where, if otherwyse, yow shall be plotted on with combinations, with trickes, with devises of necessyte, as yowr hends will be tyed, before yow know where yow are.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Concerning the second principell that is to be observed, teaching that you should not commit the managing of your estate to the discretion of your wyfe, it in somme sort and in somme cases is not absolute; for I am not ignorant that the wyfe is given boeth by nature and policy as an adiutrix to the man, by wise mens opinions; my censure ayming but of wyfes of great men, not at wyfes of the poorer sort, whoes families consists perhapps but of a man and a wyfe alone, or of a man, a wyfe, somme children, and few servants; in those I must nedes grant that the managing of somme home causes are to be conferred on them; but in cases where businesses are to be directed abroade, or at home, if it be not in tryfles, to kepe there mynds from idelnes,

[n] If the tie between master and servant was generally thus slender, well might Orlando speak with delight of the fidelity which Adam had exhibited from the age of seventeen to fourscore:

> "Thou art not *for the fashion of these times,*
> When none will sweat but for promotion;
> And, having that, do choke their service up
> Even with the having: it is not so with thee."
>
> As you like it, II. 3.

[o] Lord Burghley's advice to purchase obedience from attendants is far more consonant to good sense and good feeling. "Feed them well and pay them with the most; and then thou mayest boldly require service at their hands."

I thinke it not altogether soe necessary; for, believe it, where soft hands are held an ornament, and faire faces must be preserved, nether the hand nor the eie will be farre extended to any busines; whiche will happen for the most part in great mens houses, and therefore in that kinde I will only procede to the handling of this point.

Whoe soe ever faleth in to mutch uxorialytee in this nature, for the most part it groeth out of somme of theas endes; ether esteming there sufficienties at to high a rate;—or for quiet, they desiring to have rule, otherwyse would chide;—or out of ease, bycause the husband would be slothefull and give him selfe to his pleasures;—or out of profitt, knowing the pinching humours of wyfes when they betake them selfes to sparing, that being semely for them to doe, that is not fitt for a man to looke after; other endes I knowe noen to perswade. Therefore let us examine how farre this mater of there sufficienties ought to sway us. Ether it is out of the abilites or propertyes of there boddyes or of there mynds, that they excell in, or else we shall erre grossely to give it way. There persons I will consider as they are, not as it is possible they might be, if ether the Amazonetts governement were a [o'] foote, or Plato his commonwelthe put in practisse.[P] There bodyes you may perceave to be very tender out of extreme humydites, and this doe all our Physitions agree in; soe as there speritts are not held to be of that vigor and robustenes as mens are; for hote and drye spiritts maketh quickest and strongest motions by all mens consents; nether are there lymbes of that abilite to performe; for they are slender, weeke, delicat, and lesse commonly, partely by there tender using of there boddyes to preserve there beautyes, one of there derest treasurs, partely out of modesty, that alloweth them not thos exercises that encreaseth strength and biggenes; and partely by the very groeth of nature, as all femealls are, somme few scratching kinds excepted, whoe have predominant power over the male; soe as hereby may be inferred that Nature it selfe hath forbid that man should surcharge them with businesses that is not fitting for them, althoughe they, out of there ambition, shall affect it.

P Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy did not appear until 1621, but there is a striking resemblance between the sentiments on women in this chapter and those which are expressed by that celebrated writer in Memb. III. Subject III. of his work.

* * * *

Thus farre for there persons. Now to the abilites of there understandings let me say somwhat; not that I would detract any thing from there witts, as they are naturally tempered as ours be; nether grant them impossibilites by way of myracle, for ether from above it must be given supernaturally, or they must attaine to it by the ordenary means that all men doe gett it by. There extraordenary inspiration I will not examin. For there ordenary wayes of learning, consider but there educations, and it will appere almost impossible for them to be extraordenary, or nyeghe most men; for upon that point chiefely must consiste the dispute.

A probable inferens out of this generall phenomenon may be gathered,—that seldom it is seene that men growe to hieghe understandings, that attaine not to it ether by discours, practisse, or reading; and I will say, very seldom by any of theas alone, if learning be not the fondation whereby there witts may be soe improved as to make them capable to receave what shall be delivered; for when was it seene, that ever any was excellent in matters of governement, that was not somwhat inseene into the laws of the land? into the common passages and customs of man to man, and into the natures of commerce in the world, that never thought of them?—Marke but womans educations from there cradells, how they are ledde on from one age to another; what there exercises be; what they are taught; the company that is most conversant with them; and then shall we perceave clerly that there bringings uppe can promisse noe deepe insight into matters of knowledge; but sutche as are soone gott and easely learned; not expecting greater matters of them then sutche as will make them as wyse at fifteen as at fifty. And this may you observe generally, that women at very yonge years are as grave and well fashioned, as ever after, for there outward carriage, making smaule progresses in any learnings after; saving in love, a littel craft, and a littel thriftines, if they be soe addicted out of disposition; handsomnes and trimnes being the idol of there harts, till tyme write deepe wrincles in there forheads. In men it is not soe alwayes, thoughe many there be that make very sloe procedings.

There cradel age can promise noe more than other childrens doe, for there usage is all one. After somme few years they may perhaps be taught to

reade and write, soe continewing on till they have learned it,—rather to kepe them from idelnes, the winde, and weathers, then of any intended desire of the parents to make them make there profitt thereby; [whiche will plainely appere in one toy of there education, I meane in the writing of true Ortografy; for how few of them can doe it, or doeth it? not that it is an impossibilite for them, if they were applyed, but that parents make it not mutche materiall for them, and therefore they doe not labor them in it.] And if any doe excell there fellowes in matter of language, (as somme ladies doe,) if it be in Frenche, yow shall commonly fynd it noe farther improved then to the study of an Amadis; if in Italien, to the reading of Ariosto; if in Spanische, to the looking upon a Diana de Monto Maior; if in Englische, our naturall tonge, to an Arcadia,[q] or somme love discourses, to make them able to entertaine a stranger upon a harthe in a Privy chamber.—I must confesse, now and than, somme of the vertuosser sort will cast there eies upon the heigher arguments of the Scriptures, as faith, regeneration, glorification, transubstantiation, participation of meritts, e. c. The rest of there tymes, and almost all parents care, is spent rather to fashion them modest, neate, gracefull, obedient, to draw on the lykings of husbands, whereby fathers may put them of [off] and provide them fortuns during the rest of there lyfes, that must be gott ether when they are yonge or never; for then are they the prittyest;—not leaving them to worke out there preferrements by other endevors, as by learning, the sworde, and other vertues of this nature. Besides, marke but there conversations for the most part, and it is but of nursery company whiles they are yonge, where there discourses are not ever of the waightyest businesses; or if extraordenarily they doe converse with men, what will be there entertainements, but to tell them that they are faiere, proper, witty, and pretty passages of mirth, flattering them to gaine there good wills. * * * * Can poore yonge maydes then thirst after great understandings, when nether there parents forces them to it, when they are

q In the picture of Anne Clifford, at Skipton Castle, the following works were introduced—Eusebius, St. Augustine, Josephus, and the Arcadia. It was of this lady that the divine who preached her funeral sermon observed, that "she could discourse on all subjects from Predestination to Slea-Silk." Whit. Craven, 315. "That charm of ages," as Dr. Young calls it, the Arcadia, had reached three, if not four editions, when this MS. was written.

most dociable, nor there owen iudgements afterwards telles them that *that* is the matter must recommend them? How can yow then conclude that there sufficiencies may excede yowrs for the most part? If it doe not, can yow resolve otherwyse but that yow commit an uncharitable act to give yowr businesse in to there hands, boeth to weary there tender bodyes, and to trouble there weeke mynds? for affaiers are heavy, if not well understood; and so the causes them selfes will receave detriment, only to pleas there humors, bycause they hold it disgracefull not to have the hand as other of there neighbours have,—the chiefe motive that spurs them to the desier of being masters.

To the second consideration that hath for his obiect matter of quiet,—an inducement that perswadeth somme men to give way to there affection of governing, and very often hathe bene estemed a wyse consideration of men reputed wyse in the world; thoughe to my understanding I must esteme it a great weaknes in the fortitude that ought to be placed in a mans hart. To discover therefore how wyse they doe, that yelde, or foolischely they that yelde not, lett us discourse in what points wives have poore to give disquiet to a wyse man; and it will be proved merely but to rest in the sharpenes of there tongues, for they can nether strike nor byte, to any purpose; nether offer allmost any crosse of great importance (if men at first woeing be not precipitat in there bargains, making iointers overlarge, out of a littell love, as they call it; or that, lands being intaled, they are to have there thirds by the course of the common law, in whiche case I have found somme crosse to my will, whiche yow I have freed from, if yowr understanding can teache yow the way). For the laws hath given sutche poore to husbands as wyfes can nether alien, sett, lett, give lands without the mans consent, if they have any, (mutche lesse if they have noen of there owen,) during the husbands lyfe, unlesse donne before by way of trust, or by covenant before marriage not to meddel with any of thers; a tye that necessitous husbands are forced to consent unto, and a true means to breede discontentement afterwards: and freinds will be found but inconsiderat, that abetts in thos kinds of deceits, and men in theas dayes will hardly be overtaken, this practisse being now not yonge and not undiscovered; soe as they will but deceave them selfes in the ende, and the sorrowes will be thers.

Lively examples are of greatest force emonge examples to perswade; and examples are nerest to lyfe, that happeneth to men of a liker qualitee, mutche more of a father by way of warning to a sonne. Bycause I have found it, it is worth the rehersall. In my choise of a wyfe, it was long or I made it; I had told 31 years or I tooke one; a tyme not ordenarely slipped by men of yowr cauling, whoe cometh to there livings at 21: my resolutions being grounded upon theas considerations of choise; first, that my wyfe should nether be ougly in boddy nor mynd; secondly, that she should bringe with her meate in her mouthe to mayntaine her expence;—lastly, that her frends should be of that eminency that they might probably appere to be stepps for yow to better yowr fortun. My first ende I attayned to; the last I mist, and grew out of hope within one two years; for Essex and I were at warrs within that tyme, and hindrances grew rather then love.—The consideration of means I thought I had sure; and so did I till 16 years was spent, that the cousenage of a brother in law (a myror of honor to the world), and the deceite of a wyfe and many honorable freinds, as they caule them, did discover itselfe: for, thoughe I was not strait laised in matter of portion, yett, sutche as it was, there was used frauds: a lease of 30 years was granted to yowr mouther from the Queene, of tieths and impropriations; her father-in-law[r] being attainted, and loosing all thus granted, thoughe I married her within a smaule tyme of her husbands deseace, theas leases were made over to her daughter, yowr sister-in-law; soe as it was used as a courbe to me afterwards, not yealding to that allowance she required. It is very true, I was suttel enoughe, and knew enoughe of fraudes of this kind; yett did the seming honor of Essex make me carelesse; the fame of yowr mothers vertu made me negligent; the honorable race of boeth of them made me suspect noe collusion, wherein I found many of there fingers dipt in afterwards,

[r] Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, being impeached in 1592 for libelling the Queen and for other offences, was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. He died soon afterwards in the Tower. His estate went by the Queen's favour (as he had formerly settled it) to his son, who married the Earl of Essex's sister.—Camd. Annals. "I hear that what troubles him (Essex) greatly is certain lands of Sir John Perrot's, which is now again called in question for the Queen, who (*sic*) since his death by due course of law was adjudged to be the right of my Lady Northumberland and her daughters."—Sydney Papers, 21 Feb. 1596. See Lodge's Illustrations, iii. 11, and ante, p. 307.

boeth as actors and abettors.—If this example be not lively enoughe to make yow beware, I will give yow uppe to yowr owen losse and folly.

For them to threaten cuckoldry, ether out of seming, or in dede, a stratageme sommetymes used to impone an awe, that will soune be helpt; for if they doe it and yow know it not, it is nothing of revenge to yow, bycause yow know it not; if yow know it, or suspect it, the revenge will light upon them selfes, since yow have means to put of the scandall from yow by separation, if yow list: or if the act be publicke, there can noe dishonor rise to a man by a womans whoredom, being separated: soe as this can be noe way to disquiet a wyse man; and the losse will be theres in present, and there owen children in future, as men may handle the matter.

Somme will obiect farther, that they will be froward and perverse in there conversation and carriage, forbearing to doe that a man would should be donne. All this is nothing, when yow have resolved that they shall be putt to doe nothing but that, whiche, if they doe not, the care is soune taken, having others to execute yowr affaiers, if yowr owen leisure will not suffer yow to wielde all by yowr owen personal act; and the paine is very smaule to lett an unreasonable woman sitt still and be angry without cause. Howsoever now a dayes it hathe gott a fallacious cover by a fallacious terme only, and that is to be cauled a lady of good sperit; whereas heretofore, when ladyes were estemed for the true act of vertu,—of patiens indeede, sutche were nomynated Scolds. Thus may yow see how the fallacye of a terme may misleade a poore ignorant creature.

Since then this trooble must rest only in the strengthe of there tongs, a weake instrument to alter the rational courses of a wyse man; lett us but conceave rightly of them, and I take it there will be found noe cause of disquiet, thoughe they doe talke preposterously and out of order sommetymes; the fault more iustely being laid upon our selfes to be angry, then in them to endeaver to anger us: an affection I must confesse very predominant in them, as it is also in the weakest sort of men. Revenge by way of hurt is more manly than comendable; but revenge by way of ang'ring is fitter for a woman; and happy it is, they have noe greater poore; for otherwyse there tyranny would be insupportable for the tyme of ther passion. I have understood them to be soe violent somtymes, when they could not have there wills, as

to threaten to act many mischiefs upon there owen persons; whiche skilfull men in this trade of there humors have remedyed by offering furtherances to ther threats; as, if they would needs kill them selfes, to give them a knife; if to hang them selfes, to lend them your garters; if to cast them selfes headlong out of windoes, to open the casements; if to sound and dye, to lett them lye till they came to them selfes againe: soe as to this day I could never here of any that perished by theas mornefull deaths.

Theas things are not mutche materiall, yett worth yowr knowing; and therefore I will procede to that part of reason that governs them most. It is noe arguing to them what is good to be donne out of ratiotination, but what other bodyes doe, is there guide: precedents is the thing that leads them. As for example, of there libertyes, not what is most modest for them to doe, but sutche and sutche doeth thus; not what is fitt for them and there children to weare, out of the abilities of there caulings, but sutche and sutche wears this and that; not what is proper for them to give, but sutche and sutche gives this and that;—not that painting is an unmodest ornament, but that paynting is the fashion; and soe in generall, there affections grounded upon what others doe, maketh the fault appere to them a fault or not, and not the qualite of the fault it selfe; soe as faults being more usuall then vertues, there desiers must needs be exorbitant for the most part: and shall not yow then be mutche more blame-worthy in being disquieted at there angers, then they to affect that whiche they conceave to be best? Doe not yow see daly that children affects rattells in ther infancies, topps and scourges afterwards; then dogs and hauks; and lastely better an [and] graver matters, if they be better furnished? Doeth it not appere by this, that affections are but according to the measure of there knowledges? that tender affections are never soe stronge in age as in youth, nor in wisdom as in folly and ignorance. Will yow be angry then at a poore woman that understands littel? Will yow be disquieted if a childe doe lyke a childe, and crye if he have not his will? Or will yow be troobled bycause a woman chides, if she have not what she desiers? Yow know, it is not long that it can last; or, if it doe, the remedy I have ever found to be best, is, to lett them talke, and yow to kepe the power in yowr owen hands, that yow may doe as yow list: soe as in the one yow shall curbe them, in the other yow

shall weary them, when they shall decerne they cannot move yow; for I have often known, men not replying, women have chid them selfes out of breathe.

For the consideration of ease, the unreasonablest of all others, and most unbecoming the nature of a man, declares it selfe at full the weakenes of the condition, having a longer traine of discomodites then any of the rest; and deerely shall yow pay for yowr ease, when yow shall obtayne it by the industry of a wyfe; for I never found in all my observations, since I could deserne of any thing, but when soever the woman did governe, or semed to doe soe, the man grew straight into contempt; and although I know it is a very godly thing, to hold ones selfe constant and loving to a wyfe, indeede, yett withall have I often perceaved, to hold it overprecise in outward shew gives somme danger of an attribute of uxoriousnesse; nether did I ever know any man that was long constant to a mistresse, but lost of his reputation of a gallant and worthy man. Of great use I have known mistresses in a court; when ether a lady governed all, or ladyes ruled them that ruled all; and soe as instruments to colude, or as spyes, they are advantageous often. By whiche may be seene the danger that men incline to, when they esteme them at hiegher rates then is convenient and semely; thoughe they for there own perticulars are not to be condemned for there affections therein; bycause it addes to their glory, when yow seme most to prise them, and to grant them that whiche they caule in there common language the accidents of a good husband, bering noe other sence emongest wyse men, then to lett them doe as they list; to have there wills; and in the ende, yow to degenerate into the imputation of a wittol. Not that I deny that men should not be good husbands in wyse mens interpretations; that is, to use them by the rules of discretion; to give them that is fitting, soe they be not there owen iudges; and to be kind in deede, and not outwardly, with dalliances and attendances to be ridiculously obsequious; for by that means a man runnes into great hazards of scorne, if bystanders see the manner that ether understands them to have playd false, or suspects them that they will play false upon good opportunities. Will not the disgrace of being coxed faule heavier upon him, and put her faults more into memory, then if in publicke he carried a graver and more commanding fashion?

It is one of theas two things must give a coulerable argument of reason, why a man should neclect his owen affaiers, to impone them upon his wyfe, and that is, ether home affaiers of the state, as matters of iustisse; or businesses abroad, as matters of imployments of a great warre; nether of whiche is sufficient; for the wysest meñ hathe tyme eneugh to heare, and instruments enoughe to execute far waightier causes then theas: and soe have they, if they be commanders abroade; for men commonly employed in ether of the two, are men that petty gains will never make ritche, nether will light wastes mutche hurt; therefore it is inexcusable to be sloethfull in this kind, and to give them into a womans hands, mutche lesse yowr employments being none at all, as most mens are, but merely yealded to out of ease; a monster to an industrious and understanding mynd, and a wonder to me, that sees soe many faule into the absurdite every day.—It doeth foster servants, that continually will disesteeme you; and how can it be otherwyse, when as they by pleasing yow shall nether have place or rewarde; by pleasing a masters wyfe boeth place and rewarde is at hand: and very ordenarely shall yow find it, that althoughe the man assume all poore and authorite to him selfe, yett will servants adventure rather to displease a rationell master then a passionat mistris. Gripe into yowr hands what poore soe ever yow will of governement, yett will there be certain persons about yowr wyfe, that yow will never reduce;—a gentleman ushier,[s] her tailor, and her woman; for they will ever talke, and ever be unreasonable; all whiche your officers will rather endeavour to pleas then yowr selfe, soe as it be not a very mayne matter; and trifles often hap'ning at the years end comme to a greater bulke of expence then greater sommes seldom chancing; and losse will be easilyer gaind by this tricke then yow would thinke for, mutche more when the wyfe hathe predominant poore.

In a house thus governed factions will be ryfe, as well emongest yowr owen servants, as emongest yowr freinds and hers; for her freinds will ever be the welcommest and best used, the traine of women freinds being ever

[s] The Gentleman Usher constantly attended his mistress when she went abroad, and even went on messages to make inquiries concerning the health of her female friends. It should seem from what is here stated, that he was sometimes employed also by his mistress in *secret services*.—Malone.

the longest and most trooblesomme: the backe doores will make lesse noise at the entrance of her servants,[t] then of yowr mistresses; for attendants will be slowe to discover, where no gaine is to be gotten, nor feare to be conceaved, and attempters will be the more confident, when they know all is at the mistris disposing.

One more discomodite lett me conclude this branche withall, that must follow very often if yow be not master, and that is, yowr children shall never be instructed according [to] yowr own discretion; for wyfes will have there wills, and will believe better of there owen ways then of yowrs; and sorry will they be to see there owen faults told them by an austere father every houre, in there daughters.

To conclude with the last motive of geving the affaiers into a womans hands, I meane for profitt sake, an argument likelier to abide a defence then any of the former; and men will find my assertion perhaps rough bycause they may know what it is to be as they are; but seldom can an inferior iudge of the trueth of great mens humors, how it will be putt forward or retiered; not that it is impossible, but that men will not have the will to thinke of that concerns them not.

The former discours hathe suffisiently unfolded wyves disabilites in forraine businesses; to take accounts is hard to them that hathe not used it, nether knowes the wayes nor the methods; and to understand how an affaire goeth abroad, and governe it without passion, is harder then that.—This peece of dispute looking but merely after home busines, and trifles within doores, nothing reasonabely can be said to the contrary, but that wyfes are the fittest, considering that there lyfes at home are very solitary, for the most part. There leisures affords them tyme enoughe to overlooke mutche; in thos things soe nieghe there eies they have iudgement and skill sufficient; they are parcemonious out of nature, bycause gaine in common understandings apperes the greatest happines, and many things about a house is proper to be looked to by them, whiche a man of an excellent spe-

t We have here an instance of what is so commonly found in our dramatic writers of this period, where *servant* is the common term for a lover or suitor, who in return called the object of his addresses *mistress*. See Shirley's Hyde Park and Massinger's Unnatural Combat.

ritt will hardely deiect his thoughts to think of. Theas are things mutche inducing to the allowance of it; but if the discomodites shall rise to be more then the comodites that are likely to follow, then are not my arguments altogether vaine, and better were it to lose somwhat then to faule into worse inconveniences. The lesse unreasonable will this doctrine of myne be found, when men shall in a manner doe the same that they can doe; only this will be the difference, that yow shall doe them by yowr instruments, and they will performe them by theirs: for I speake to noblemens wyfes, and not to meane mens.

The great discomodite of all I will beginne with; that is, they will have the commande of all your servants, whoe for the most part will be apt out of inclination to leane that way; for womens humors are stepps nerer there reaches then wyse mens can be; and more wayes there be to cutt the grasse under a womans foote, to overthrow her, then under a mans: and whether ther over-devotion to a mistris becke and a wyfes command leade not on with it a possibilite of contempt,—the nourishing of snakes in yowr owen bosom,—concealing of what would otherwyse be knowen,—disreputation in the world, (whoe are most commonly carried with outward shews, rather then inward trueths, rather with reports of the many vulgar, then out of the secret knowledge of a few of the wyser,) I leave to yow to iudge.—But of this point of disputation mutche hathe bene sayd in the considerations of ease and quiet. The very mane burden of this songe is but to give yow that poore in yowr selfe, that tyme, fortune, and the lawes of nature hathe made yow master of; and not to degenerate it and place it where it should not be, as upon yowr wyfe, children, favoritts, or servants, otherwyse then to make them yowr instruments, and not yow thers. Therefore lett us consider the things wherein a wyfes parcemony is to be shewen, and they will be found very slight and trivyall, unlesse, as I sayd before, to kepe them from idelnes and worse thoughts.

The things that great mens wyfes ought to endevor, and are most proper for them in house affairs, is, to bring uppe there children well in there long-cote age; to tender there helthes and education, and to obey there husbands. Matters of lesse moment whiche they are conversant withall, is, to see that there women, as there instruments, kepe the linnen sweete; that

spoyle be not made of houshold stuffe;—to have a care that when great personages shall visitt, to sitt at an ende of a table, and carve handsomly.[u] If they be sutche as they affect, ether out of kindred or other kindenes, yow shall not nede to doubt but that they will be vigilant enoughe, not to see them want any thing.

* * * *

The kitching, buttry, or pantry, are not places proper for them: a dary is tolerable; for soe may yow have perhaps a dische of butter, a soft cheese, or somme clouted creme, once in a sommer. Poultry and fed fowle I have sene there huswyfry stretche to, in the overlooking there darymaydes; for the commendation of a fatt puetts legge of my Ladyes owen carving, to a good pallate is a great vertu in a belly-gods estimation.

To beginne great workes that will ever be in the beginning and never ended, with a littel wasting of sleave silke, for there pastimes I hold very necessary; and soe perhaps in two or three ages a bed imbrodered with slipps may be fynished; or, in somme lesse tyme, a purse or a paire of hangers,[x] wrought by her owen hand, for a servant, may be ended.—There be thos that have gained so faire a trust as to the keping of the cofers; but I have ever found that empty purses are fitter for there cares then full ones; and hardely shall yow fynd the wyfe of a wyse man the governor of ritche bagges.

Theas boyische observations albeit they be but ridiculous in them selfes, yett by them is apparent the smaule profitt can rise by there oversights; and yett sutche, if it be put to a question whether fitt to be donne or not, noe doubt but it is better to have smaule helps to helpe to order, then none at all; for smaule savings are better then lavishe spendings, all other dis-

[u] Our ancestors most discourteously threw the labour of carving upon females, and Roger North touches upon it as one of the "pre-eminences of their sex," and as alone entitling them to the head of the table.—Lives of the Norths, iii. 305. "There were, it appears, at one time, professed carving-masters, who taught young ladies the art scientifically, from one of whom Lady M. W. Montagu took lessons three times a week, that she might be perfect on her father's public days," on which occasions very laborious duties devolved on her.—Letters and Works edited by Lord Wharncliffe, i. 2.

[x] The belts in which rapiers were hung were called *hangers*. They were frequently embroidered. —Malone. See Every Man in his Humour, Act i. 4.

comodites spoken of before, being salved. Be it admitted that there industryes could save somwhat, and that the whole manage of a house were in there directions; where would the savings goe? upon whom would it be conferred? upon them selfes and there owen backs, if they be loving ladyes, or would be thought to be beloved; the beefe-potts would be translated into wardropps, and multitudes of servants into a few privat baudes, ether to there passions or there persons.—Jewells is a kind of welthe mutche tickells them in two respects; the one, bycause they thinke it draws on admiration; the other, bycause they holde it there owen without account, when a husband shall take his leave of the world. To lay it upon land, that sutes not soe well with there mynds, bycause soe they should leave an interest in the husband, noe poore remayning in them to bestowe it upon a second husband, if nede be: for it is the nature of all women to hate to be thought not worth the seekeing, how olde or ill favored soever: to supply whiche humors, and to cast of [off] that disreputation, welthe by them is mutche thirsted after; soe as if they can scrape up any thing that they may whorde up, it is not for yow; * * * * for it is not vertues that mouves there affections or gains there lyking; obedience is the thing leads them to love or hate. To conclude; there savings, with an example that is very seldom fallible, doeth demonstrat the love to them selfes, without soe mutche respect to there children as they will make shew for; and tell me how often yow have ever herd or seene, that women would perswade there olde husbands rather to lay any cost upon that place that should presently descend to her sonne, then upon that was allowed for her ioynter, how derely soe ever she loved him: and this happeneth not seldom, that the mother and the eldest sonne never agree, when the father is dead.

To shutt uppe this branche of womens governement, whiche somtymes hathe fallen within the compasse of my thoughts, to consider the reason why in this state of England wyfes commonly have a greater sway in all owr affairs, than in other nations, Germany excepted, where there unmeasurable beastlynes of drinking causeth a necessite for the wyfe to looke to the businesse; soe apparent is it in this commonwelth, as writers have scandalized us in somme of there historyes, to be soe uxorious, that to our

guests we offer our wyfes and daughters as a complement of entertainment. —The cause of all this I could never conceave to procede from other roote then our hospitalitie; for where men resort, meate must be had; and where overabundance of meate is, there men will be noe strangers. The mans care, if this hospitalitie be nourished, must be content to trudge abroade, to employ his wyfe at home, and not to spare the heels of his horse and cater in the service: this necessite, I say, layeth a generall rule of the house affairs upon the wyfes of England; makes her undertake seing of things in order at home, entertayning all commers, conducting there guests to there chambers; carefull of there breakfasts, keping them company at cards, with many moe complements of this nature, whiche is not ordenary in other places and other nations.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

To procede with my third rule, wherein you are willed to be the giver of yowr owen guifts, without the intercession or distribution of it by others, is but to make yow master of yowr owen, as it hathe bene desired in the former principells. This will not doe it alone, but will give a helpe to the worke; not ayming to perswade yow to give lyke a God, that looketh for nothing back againe; nor by the strict rules of vertu, that must give only for vertues sake. My rules shall tend to give as one that expecteth a returne againe from them, ether out of obedience to yowr person or care of yowr profitt; or love with integrite; or to ease yow of somme labors yow cannot well undergoe; or to be a diligent watche, least snares may be laid for yow; and lastely, to bind yowr dependents without flitting, that every day yow be not putt to study new men, new humors, new affections. If there be any judiciall considerations in well-carrying the former precepts, in this there is a farre greater master worke; for, credit me, to give well and advantagiously will aske a great deal of art: but how to give, that yow may have the thanks (since it is yow must part with the benefitt), in it lyeth the mistery.

In yowr givings there are but theas agents to robbe yow of the thanks; ether a wyfe, or children, or kindred, or officers, or freinds, and favoritts, taking favoritts soe generall, as it may be any of theas (if yow putt not more trust in any of them then a rationall confidence), and by them one of

theas wayes: ether yow are to be wrought upon by there bestowing of yowr love, or yowr hate; or by bestowing of yowr actions ether to leave this, or take that; or out of yowr expences and government to bestowe graces, eases, favors, by way of connivency; or lastely to bestowe yowr welthe and means in being sutors for others. By all theas means thanks may be cunningly torne out of yowr hands; for there is soe nere a neighbourhood betwene reservation and free counsell, as a payer of sheres can hardely goe betwene them: protestations, vows, and oaths of honesty, sounding all one in bad men as in better. To eschew therefore the bestowing yowr loves or yowr hates, lett combinations in a familie first be broken, if they runne all one cours, or at least there wayes well discovered; though factions in a house is not amisse, if they be well managed; for envy will talke more in an hower, then love in twenty: so shall yow bind or loose at yowr pleasure; for yowr love shall yow have love againe boeth in shew and indeed: where [whereas] otherwyse the shew will be yowrs, the thanks will be thers; out of whiche, contempt will be apt to spring, and yowr secretts will ever be subject to ly open and yowr humors deskensd upon; for who will not strive to know that whiche they hope to make use of. Besides; yow shall but understand *that* they will have yow to know, not what yow ought: soe shall yowr affairs suffer hurt, and yowr person [be] wrought upon at pleasure. Yowr followers will be unfaithfull, when they must weare tow minds in one boddy, and that judgement in choise must needes appere weake, when the perfections or imperfections of them yow doe chuse only lyeth at the ende of other mens tongs; for they will chuse to serve there owen turns, and not to save your honor: soe shall they with there tricks compass there ends, and yow imbrace the scorne; for the choise of ones favoritts is commonly the index to the world of mens affections and iudgement. By this way will yow purchase yowr ease in suffering it; but they will have there desiers, and yow on all hands will be betrayed. Therefore love of your selfe, or hate of your selfe; lett not dreams carry yow, but chuse with yowr owen eies and ears, and lett not other mens commendations worke yowr mynd littel by littel to a lyking whiche otherwyse yow would not have lyked, though yowr owen eies had lookt upon them: for soe shall yow be hedged in, ere yow be aware, with other mens creatures, and not with yowr owen,

it being easyer for many to watche opportunites and yowr humors, then for yow, being but one, to conterworke and discover many, unless yow had the faythfuller agents of yowr owen: for if yowr delight be cast upon men, moved by personal choise, the combinations will soune trace yowr fancies, and the recommendations of "propernes of person,[y] handsomnes of face, swetenes of nature, diligent, loving persons, fitt to serve any prince in the world," will be the clappers that will still tange in yowr eares. If yowr humor tend to sports and youth, yow shall here nothing but that he is active, able of boddy, quick of sperit, well qualified in all of them. If yowr mynde be lift up to matters of honor, (as they call them,) I mean the warrs, then is he a worthy gentilman, a gallant fellow, an understanding soldier, a brave captain. If yow affect matter of state, then shall yow know him to be well languaged, well seene in faschions of nations, a proper man, fitt for employment, and the best faschioned and accomplischt gentilman lyving. If yow looke after profitt, then is he well seene in the courts of fynances, of state matters at home, grave, wyse, frugall in his owen nature, honest in his cariage, ritche in his means, to tye him that he fly not out to a lavische expence, to exhaust yowr cofers: soe as, looke what way yowr humors looks most, this way will the prayses of that man looke, when ther intent is but to give him yowr lyking.—On the other syde, for yowr hate, to be cast on this man or that, as they would, detractions will be plentyfull: all imperfections, and more then all, will be discovered, noe man being without faults; —vertues will be concealed or lessened at the least, whiche is easy to doe, for men are better understanding in evell then in good; the one being a thing that falls within the compas of our learnings easely, the other with labor and payne. To conclude; the man on whom this hate or mislyke is to be conferred, shal be poysoned in yowr conceite before yow shall have time to iudge, whether the vices laid to his charge were iustely or uniustely attributed. Thus shall yow perhaps hate and lay by an honest man fitt for yowr servis, and imbrace a snake in to yowr bosome: for honest men are commonly single, trusting to there owen integrities, where plotters will herde together, to stand upon ther garde, bycause they feare. Be therefore

[y] Have we not here an allusion to Car, whose "propernes of person" had about this period made so strong an impression upon the reigning monarch?

wary, nether to chuse or refuse, till yowr owen wisdom tells yow it is tyme; and then if yow faile, yow that committ the error, must mende it as well as yow can: for as yowr iudgement is, soe will yowr fortune be for the most part, thoughe in somme one case a foole may light of the way by chance, souner then a wyse man; yett beliefe me, error can bring out but error, be it apparant or hidde; and hardely can man be without them; but the lesse the better; and that yow must stryve for.

Thus mutche for the generalyte of this humor; perticular devises to effect [affect] these being as many as yowr weakenesses will give matter to, there desiers spurring them on as opportunites will minister occasions, and as accidents, whiche are infinite, will afford probabilites to perswade ether to hate or to love.

2. The second way of depriving yow of yowr owen gifts is the bestwoing of yowr actions, ether to leave this or take that, sutable to there wills. To give yow to a wyfe is probable will be the first attempt; for then will yow be yonge, and packs will be the easiliest layd: in whiche my first dayes can say somwhat, for almost I had bene caught by the combination of frēds and followers, to have bene marryed to a long sorrow, had not my fortun bene the better; and thanks or pleasures donne to yowr frends in this case and for sutche a worke will rather be estemed by lookers on an addytion to there honestyes then a blott, the matter carrying soe godly a marke in the forhead as wedlock of a yong cupple. Two wayes there are, that manifestly lye open, for them to worke by; the one, by dandling yowr disposition and soe giving yow the raynes, wherein flattery must doe his part; the other, by deading yowr knowledge by way of reservation, wherein combinations will not be to seeke.—Whether it be true that they say or noe, when they endeavor the effecting of sutche a worke, yett will yow fynd that theas will be there wages for the most part. The vertues of her they would have yow to matche with, will be delivered in the best language and the hieghest straine they can, to please yow. Her modesty, education, good qualytes, love, poore, good disposition of parents, yowr ears will be blowen full of. Her welthe shall ever be valewed at a hiegher rate then yow shall fynde it; and have an eie especially to that point; for love growes soune cold, when want caules at yowr doores, and wyfes are not too forbearing to crave in there

owen perticulars; therefore be sure that she bring with her to buy her pins,[z] what soe ever shall happen, or else yow may repent yow. Tyme will telle yow of many imperfections in her, that plenty must make plasters for. Her beautyes and features, her graces and proportions will be admyred and lauded to the uttermost: yett chuse yow a good body rather then a fayre face:[a] for the one will adde advantage to the persons of yowr posterity; the other is commonly a lewer to calle eagles to the carcasse, and many applauders stirs up pride of a face, and pride of a face [is] often the creating of a whore. Her vices yow shall be sure will be concealed, if yow be not the more cunning to discover [them] by good scoutes, or by them that affects an other course, whiche easely may be knowen, if yow be not to [too] hasty, for tyme and envy will say enoughe, if yow will but harken. Be not sparing in cost, if that will serve yowr turne; and a false brother thrust into a house[b] from whence yow are to have a wyfe, may with conveniency be donne, or at least somme in a house wonne to telle yow trueth: and althoughe yow shall not doubt but she shall have good instructions, if her mother be one of those that is entred into the roule of *strikers*,[c] for olde birds teache yonge ones, egges being layd, to hatche them. Beleve yowr owen eares and eyes, and lett noe other chuse for yow, unlesse it be sutche parents that respects not there owen present more then yowr good.

The next endeavor will be to steere an other of yowr actions; as, where to bestwo yowr residens fittest for there endes; for if they be gallants that are delighted with the pretty contentements of the towne, as with love of pleasures, I will not say—whorings; or with gay cloethes, I dare not say wastings of there estates; or merry societes, I may not say bitternes and iestes, to gett the name of a witt; or feastings, to bestwoe whole dayes' thoughts

[z] Pin-money. See Barrington on the Statutes, p. 205.

[a] See the first head of Lord Burghley's valuable Instructions to his son Robert Cecil: "Choose not a base and uncomely creature, altho' for wealth; for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing in thee. Neither make choice of a dwarf and a fool."

[b] Macbeth's policy, we see, was applied to other purposes besides those of state and ambition:

"There 's not a one of them, but in his house
I keep a servant fee'd."—Malone.

[c] This word occurs in Massinger, but it is there applied to the male sex.

after a morsel of meate, whiche for a world I will not call gluttony; or for good fellowshippe, to whiche I will not give the attribute of drinking drunke; or to see playes, whiche must not be named idelnes in them whose houres seeme wearysom and heavy bycause they know not what to doe with them selves; or to see and be seen, whiche comprehendes in it selfe love of novel-tyes or selfe conceite;—theas kind of men will telle yow that a cuntry lyfe is tedious,—where yowr conversation will be but emongest pesants,—that yowr hopes that are in a good way will runne a hazard, and to bury yowr selfe alyve were pitty, since all mens eyes are upon yow, all men honor yow, all men prizes yow, ladyes looke after yow, all men will follow yow;—when there endes is but to passe there tymes here, by the helpes of yowr expence, or by the grace of yowr favors, whiche beginning to ebbe in ether of those poores [powers], then fayrewell those followers; and soune will they fynd occasions to sever that societee, that freindshippe, that acquaintance. It will not be preposterous to warne yow that gammesters may be remembred in this trayne, as dicers, carders, bowlers, cockers, horse-runners, &c. that will lay yow aboard with there perswasions, and *that* will be for one of theas two ends, ether to cheate yow them selves, or to use yow as an instrument to cover there packs, bycause men of yowr place will be lesse suspected then these whoes necessitees inforces to sutche a trade of lyfe.

It is lykely when yowr years hathe past somme tyme in theas yong pleasures, and that a littel more virilitie hathe taken hold of yow, that the Soldier will be ready to putt in his forte, and beginne to worke towards his endes. They are of two sorts; ether land-men, or seamen, as they call them; and there perswasions will be built upon one of theas two bases, honor or welthe. As for honor, the great acts of the ancients, the worthy deeds of the modern, as precidents to sterre yow uppe with fame,—as of battels wonne, conquestes obtayned, states established, old ones repayred, new ones begunne; glory in the course of there lyves,—power to sway a state, to command a people;—and yowr name eternized by writers, by cronicles,—shall lodge in yowr mynd a desier of undertaking somme littel beginnings, that by yowr purse they may give way to there advancements;—as to leade yow to see this campe, the other army; this fort, that twone; this siege, the other imployment; this voyage, that discovery.—As for matters of welthe,

theas will be there motives;—great commands, advancing those that will be yowr creatures, out of other princes means, as by giving commands of companyes, commands of forts, command of colonnyes, governements of towns, governements of provinces, commands of fleetes, discovery of barbarous cuntryes, easely to be subdued; mountains of golde and silver; prizes of caractes and princes treasors; the winning of ennemyes goods without fayle; and, to shutt uppe the businesse, if yowr selfe will not be the actor, in respect of the meannes of the imployment, yett at least yow must be the adventurer ether of the whole or part, out of gaine and getting. Thus will they talke; thus will they say; thus will they puffe and speake bigge; and know yow why?—not to yeald yow any great returnes, but to use yowr means at home, for them to gett somwhat abroade. This contentement shall yow be sure to purchase,—to be thought to be an undertaker, of an excelent speritt, as they will terme yow; a necessary man for yowr cuntry; and for the tyme of this Maye tyme, yow may looke behind yow, and see a great number of gaye-cullored fellows at yowr heeles.

There are an other kind of men, emongest the rest, that will seeke to bestwo yowr courses, called State-men, whoe thinke them selves soe, or at least would be thought soe. Very witty they are, but poore withall, and want noe ambition. There endes are employments; by employments to ryse, ether as negotiators to terme them mannorly, or as secretaryes or clerks of counsell; or as embassadors, or as counsellers in tyme, or as secretaryes of state, or to other offices of greatnes. Men of theas hopes will worke by theas arguments opportunely putt on, that by yow they may clime:—as to perswade yow to follow a court, in hope of a princes favor; to busy yowr selfe with the understanding of forraine princes affayers, to study the procedings of the state at home; to thrust your selfe in to embassages and employments abroad; it is no matter at what rates, at what conditions; to seeme to be obsequious in what soe ever may take hold, to make a master believe that he is the dearest to yow of all creatures; yea, sommetymes, rather then to want occasions to shew this tendernes and indearing of yowr selfe, iniustisse must be made iustisse, be it with the losse of honor, goods, or lyfe it selfe:—to take upon yow the gravite of a seeming commonwelthe man, must not be forgotten:—soe as all theas arguments are but, as they

conceave them, things lying in the straightest lyne towards there desired hopes. Perswasions they are (I cannot deny) good and noble (as many of the others in the other persons that went before are), and not to be neclected by yow, soe as by them yow be not abused; the rule to save yowr selfe being this,—that if they perswade for there owen endes only, then to stand upon yowr garde; if for yowr selfe only (whiche case I am iealous yow will not oft meete withall), yow have cause to thanke them for there counsell, and to hold them deare; if boeth yowr endes be mixt in the wayes, and the thing good, then it is not to be refused, thoughe not with soe large a returne of thanks for a reward. But emongest theas men there are a sort of pretty fellows that hardly yow shall distinguish from faithfull counsellors, whiche thinke soe well of there owen witts perticularly, and soe generally weakely of yowrs, and all mens else, as they decree in ther fancies to bestwo yowr resolutions at pleasure; and soe common a phrase it is,—"lett me alone," (with somme arrogant iesture or nodde, when yowr backe is turned,) "I will perswade him,"—as it often deserves laughter; where with more modesty they might say, "I will deliver myne opinion, I will putt him in mynde of that perhaps he hath not thought of, and then lett him use his iudgement." Yett this note, by the way of my experience, that as soune as a crosse fortun shall falle upon yow, things not sooting according to there layd proiects, they are gone like lice from a dead carcasse, striving then to shew them selves wyse by being base, excusing it thus:—"to doe yow noe good, and our selves harm, weare a great point of indiscretion:"—but seldom have I found any to prosper mutche with this kind of falling of; for wyse men that love there drinkes well, will seldom venture to putt it in a caske that is tainted with fustines.

Scollers[d] may in somme sort be rankt with theas former, not in that yow shall fynd them soe flitting, or generally soe ambitious, or that emongest them yow shall not fynd somme very honest, very constant, very worthy men, that noe fortuns can beate from yow, if they have but to suffice nature

[d] Scholars in this and many other works of the same age, are spoken of as men of a particular profession, like divines, lawyers, &c. This is a striking proof that scholarship, instead of being general among all the higher ranks, as it is at present, was then confined to a comparatively small class.—Malone.

in a competent fashion: yett are there again of them of many kinds, of many professions, that will desier to make yow the bridge to goe over to there conclusions; emongest whom there are impostures[e] in all kinds of learnings, I will not call them montebankes, whoe ever have more wares layd out then they have to sell. And be not too credulous upon reports of understanding persons, whoe ioyes more in one houres beleife of a falsehood they desier, then in ten houres labor to know a trueth of what is not soe pleasing. "To trye nothing,"—I say not soe nether: but there deeds will seldom answere there bragges, or if it doe, to very small use, and the labor will scarce be worth the payne, unlesse grounded upon very demonstrable conclusions. By knowledge this benefitt yow shall attaine to, of them of the learnedder sort, at least not to wonder at any thing; but that the causes of all things cannot be knowen precisely, or if knowen in part, yett that all things cannot be managed by us as wee would. Theas are the two greate wonders of the world: besydes, I know not any. Therefore to returne to our impostures [impostors],[f] they emongest the rest will labor to bestow yowr mynd, yowr courses, yowr resolutions, if not in a full degree, yett in part, and in som measure, if they can. One note I must annex as a schedule to this discours, and that is, how yow may distinguishe betwene the imposture and the true lover of knowledge. The signes and there markes I have found to be theas. The one in his hart, what soe ever shew he will make, is all for gayne in his proiects, whiche ether by somme discourses, or somme courses, at one tyme or other will lay it selfe open; the other estemes it not but for his mynds satisfaction: the one full of bragges and ostentation, that he may appere full of knowledge by his talke, the other sylent, and contents and pleaseth him selfe with that he knoweth: the one will say it is nothing to understand and not to doe, whereby the world may participate of the benefitt; the other pleaseth him selfe, to know what is possible to be donne, what not, when occasion shall earnestly requier it,

[e] It is manifest that *impostures* is here used for impostors: so that the mistake of printing, "*impostures* to true fear," in Macbeth, instead of "impostors," &c. might easily have happened.

[f] The author had at first written "empericks;" which shews that he used *impostures* for *impostors*.—Malone.

without desier of admyration, reward, or sale: the one cannot endure to confesse to have bene deceaved, where the other will as ingeniously[6] acknowledge a parologism, faulen into, soe soune as he discovers it, without any conceite of imputation to him selfe: the one will conceale how oft he hathe bene cousened; the other laughs and tells how oft he hathe bene cheated: the one nothing but experiments acted can satisfy the possibility or impossibility of the thing, and yett, when it is donne, the reasons why it is donne lyeth hidde; the other satisfyed that it may be donne, and the reasons why ether in whole or part, or propinque or remote, and therefore cares not to putt it in act, being the gambalds to furnishe clossets withall, when they are donne: the one, thoughe yow be not capable, will undertake to teache, that yow may wonder at him, yett in the ende will teache yow nothing; the other will never presse yow to learne, or ever open him selfe, unlesse he fynd yow capable and industrious, and then very charitable to give yow what helpes they canne, and glad yow will learne any thing, soe as there owen contemplations be not hindered, whiche above all the world they prise: —and believe me, empericks, what maskes they putt on, ether concerning matter of enginns, or proiects to serve there cuntry, or of helthe to helpe them selves or there frends, or essayes to passe away the tyme, having nothing else to doe, yett shall yow fynd, that ether gayne or glory is there end, not knowledge. I may safely say a hasty gayne is hoped for, emongest whiche converting of mettals is not the least; but why, I leave yow to iudge. It is true a mere charity to save humayne nature may thrust somme forwards to act by medicins, to have many glasses, many compounds, of many cullors, to heale all, to kill noen; where [whereas] the others with modesty will promise, to doe the best they can, and will confesse that God somtymes prospers their cures onder there hands, somtymes not; but tyme wearyes theas kind of men from practisse, or practisse in tyme makes them wearysom to men; and he runs a hazard of blame, whiche he shall be sure of, that tryes to kill men without authority. This the true lover of knowledge will tell yow, yow shall fynd infallible, that all things that appere to be, and

[6] *Ingeniously* was very generally used for *ingenuously* in the age of this writer.—Malone, and see Nares's Glossary.

are not that they appere to be, will be of very littel use for profitt, andof lese continuance for tyme; as, for man to appere godly and be not; to appere wyse and be not; or to appere fond and be wyse; or *that* to appere gold that is not, or to occult that is gold, and is gold; or stones that is not right, to appere right; or wool to appere silk and is not, e. c. soe that sophisms be never long lasting, whoe soe ever builds upon them; what future discomodites soe ever is tyed to there tales; and if of use, yett once and noe more; and must be acted upon sutche persons as nether yowr wordes or needes shall have occasion to meet them afterwards: for things found false looses there valew as soune as they are donne, and nothing but workes of God and nature will be at heighe rates for ever and ever to continew; for things of use, thoughe common, may laste, and be reasonably prysed; but rarietes common and for few mens use, are sure soune to have an ende of there esteeme: soe as if theas things be dabbled in to satisfy the mynd, they are good, for many phinomes[h] enritche the understanding; but if for gayne, yow will misse of yowr ende; for there are certayne workes fitt for every vocation, somme for kings, somme for noblemen, somme for gentilmen, somme for artificers, somme for clounes, and somme for beggers. All are good to be knowne by every one, yett not be used by every one. If every one play his part well, that is allotted him, the commonwelthe will be happy; if not, then will it be deformed; but whiche is fitt for every one, quere.

3. The third way of tearing thanks out of yowr fingers, is often acted by sutche as yow imploy in the execution of yowr affayrs, be they forrain[i] Officers or domesticall; and that is by there doing of graces, by chearefull caresses, by tendernes of respects, by trusts extraordenary, by continuall conversations, by counsells debated an [and] agreed upon, by praise afforded them, upon every slight occasion to endeare them in the master's eye; and lastely, littel imployments to make them, or at least *stealingly* to make them, necessary for a masters busines, or by using connivencies, as by concealing of

[h] Phenomena seems to be here meant.—Malone.

[i] By foreign officers are meant, land-stewards, surveyors, receivers of rents, &c. Domestic officers have been already enumerated.—Malone.

wastes committed, by bearing, or forbearing to informe, if misdemeanors or riotts be donne, by extenuating complaynts, if they come to a masters eare, or by multiplying of faults in those that be there coryvalls; or by affording of cases, as by appointings of the best lodgings, best horses, best drinkes, best meats, best of what soe ever out of that a master must spend; reddy impresses, quicke payments; helpes before hand; loans, and many curtesyes or favors, as they caule them, whiche to the rest of there fellowes will not be thought soe reasonable to be allowed for a masters profitt: or by giving comodites, as to employ them in sutche things wherein they may gayne; to winke at things gott, soe as it be but in a modeste faschon; not to be to hasty to call them to a strict accompt; not to discover, if petty things be embesiled; not to be to nimble to call for arrerages, thoughe they remayne upon *supers;* not to presse for rents, if it be but a littel that is behind, and letting of lands or setting of woods or other comodites with favor, as they terme it, otherwyse cauled at smauler rates, or to give them the refusall, will not be out of use.

Yow must not strive to mutche to sett all theas things right, for it will not be in yowr power to helpe; only this I would requier, that yow should understand what they doe; that by it yow might have a more common notion, how to iudge how things are carryed, when greater matters comme in question; for truely, by the affections of one man to an other, yow shall have a clearer insight to see whether yow be wrought upon or noe; and every mans endes being discovered and knowen, yow shall marke better the blowe that shall be offered yow: And wonder yow must not at theas affections that are sterring emongest men, how neere soe ever they be to yow; for it is soe sutable to the nature of man to favor those whiche they elect, ether out of the opinion of there persons, or the society of there discourses, or for use, iudging them aptest to execute there desiers; and lastely, there is noe man of how poore an estate soe ever, but loves rather to make other men beholding to him, then he to them, since it is but the commande of men that causes this affection of having of aboundance and of power, once necessites being supplyed: and this shall yow finde generally;—that men loves them best whoe they chuse, and not whoe chuses them; whiche is the cause that begetts the complaynt of soe mutche ingratitude as is in the world.

4. To eschew the fowrth way of stealing thanks from yow; a theft the most materiall and least apparent of all the rest, is, by being the giver or not giver of yowr gifts, without intercession. Whoe they be that are likeliest to robbe yow of this thanks, once more it is not unnecessary to remember; and that is, ether wyfe, children, brothers, kinred, frends, followers or favoritts; favoritts understood to be any of theas, if over valewed: for a wyfe may be loved soe obsequiously as yow shall be esteemed uxorious; children soe tenderly as thought to doate; brothers and kindred at that rate, as yow shall receave the censure of being governed; frendes and followers soe deerely, as to be sayd to be ledde by the nose. But by the way of intercession shall yow better discover at what valew yow are esteemed at[k] in there conceits, then by any of the former wayes of being given away. In this comedy, for other then a play I can not make it, will be presented three actors; yowr selfe, the person spoken for, and the party speaking. 1. If yow play yowr part well, then will yow be thought a good actor; if not, yow must be content to suffer the shame and the losse: for creditt me, men, in this act of giving, commonly thanks them more that speaketh for them, then they doe him that giveth them; because the party speaking doeth it for the love of him that requireth it; where [whereas] yow that give is supposed to doe it for his sake that moveth it; otherwyse the party spoken for, his own intercession would serve the turne.

The best way to give, is, to be beforehand in the demands of the asker, if he deserve it; in whiche none ought to be the iudge, or soe iuste a iudge as yowr selfe: and better is it that yow should fayle in not iudging rightely of there deserts, then they to committ the fault in overprising them selves, and soe seeke to be there owen carvers, or there owen iudges.

The next is when the Sutor him selfe asketh, whiche well cannot be denyed them as reasonable to be granted; bycause often askers that deserve well affects one thing before an other; whos desiers yowr cogitations can not soe iustely hitt, thoughe yow mean them good; for smaule things given

[k] Here we have another proof of that phraseology which Mr. Steevens has positively asserted was not in use in Shakspeare's time. See Romeo and Juliet, Act i. sc. 2, and Coriolanus, Act ii. sc. 1. "*In* what enormity is Marcius poor *in*," where the latter *in* has been arbitrarily thrown out of the text.—Malone.

that contents, spreds the reward by mutche, and yow shall be sayd to husband yowr gift well.

Lastely, yow shall give well, when yow give nothing, if one moveth for an other; for sweete answers, well bestowed, is a great gift for a foole. In somme cases this last rule may be broken, and the recommendation of an other is to be admitted, as when yow are destitute of an actor, for a busines yow intend, the choise being indeferent whoe yow are to elect, then is it tolerable for one to propound for an other; and I must say, he incurrs noe smaule hazard of ether being thought honest or wyse, that recommends, for it is a very daynty thing to give ones worde for a man that may not prove ether a knave or a foole. Somme may reply, that it is true *that* I write; but few men have these iuste cogitations in giving, ether faulting in forgetfulnes or covetousnes, or underprisings, and therefore that masters ought to be prest, by others: to whiche I answer,— that my intent is not to teache men how to handle weake masters, if they have them, but that yow be not that weake master soe to be handled; since yowr ears ought not to be shutt to any man, for he hathe a very poore resolution that dares not heare a man talke, but must be talkt out of his witts and discretion. I know noe sutche glory and contentement in this world, as to be askt and to give, yett still soe to give, that yow may still be fitt to be askt; the troble of whiche yow shall not neede to feare when all is gone; for as having brings ioy with it, being askt, soe to be bankrupt, being askt, is torment: and two maxims I will conclude with, fitt for yowr acting: the one, to suspend yowr answer at first asking with—"I will thinke of it,"—for soe shall yow give yowr selfe tyme of consideration, ether to deny handsomly, or to grant with best advantage: the other, if ones [once] denyed, lett noe importunacy alter yow, for that will lay yow open to be facile, soe shall yow never have rest; and not to be able to deny with a constant brow, if there be cause, is a signe that yowr courage is mixed with a cowardly kind of diffidens.

2. The next actor that is to present him selfe is the sutor that requiers. To lay him open a littel, lett us consider the motives that putts him forward to addresse him selfe to an intercessor to speake for him, rather then to speake for him selfe: by it yow shall see what errors dayly men committ, to doe it, and what disadvantage yow shall give yowr selfe to suffer it. One of

theas two endes tyes them to shrowde them selves onder the helpes of an intercessor: ether bashfulnes or an unworthy opinion he hathe of yowr discretion. Bashfulnes soe participates with fears and shames, as well I know not how to sever theas affections; therefore hand over head I will mix them as they chance, and caule it all bashfulnes, as the modestest tearme. Bashfulnes in sutors is sommetymes caused out of a iealouzy of there owen deserts; for it is the nature of men that are tymerous as well to underprise them selves, as for the audacious to over-valew them selves:—sommetymes out of a diffidens to deliver feelingly at full ther case; for a methodicall tonge and a good utterance mutche tickles a dull eare; and sweete words sways a mynd that is not over seriowsly bent;—sommetymes for feare of discovering the folly of a prodigality past, when once he commes to beggary, if he have bene master of any thing; for griefs of wants are farre heavyer to those that once have knowen what having is, then to him that never was master of that ioy;—sommetymes mistrust that givers' iudgements will not concurre with thers in the desert, and a denyall to a modest man peerces deepe, for secrett reproufes are bitterer to a thinking man, then open reproches to a prater;—sommetymes out of an humor, that men rather chuse to be denyed behind there backes, then to there teeth; for disgraces in covert are disgested with more ease then neclects that are publicke; and, as they thinke, a denyall underhand begetts not so soune a hatred in the denyer bycause he hathe denyed, as when the denyer by his denyall hathe pronounced the party unworthy to his face; for wrongs by not rewarding deserts, or punishment undeservedly afflicted [inflicted], are the forerunners of a greater hatred to follow; soe as it is a greater misfortun to be whipt innocently, then to be lascht for a cause; for pardons and remissions deserves meritt and thanks, where wronges requier to be salved by more abundant graces: and two things masters are hardely wonne to amend; the one to acknowledge a precipitation committed, the other to recompense a wrong with a farther losse; for few men but fryers love to whippe them selves for there synns.

Concerning the unworthy opinion may be had of yowr iudgement, it is plaine enoughe it is *that* perswades a sutor to honor, to follow, to seeke after an intercessor; for men willingly take the surest and shortest way to there

XXIII. *A Letter from* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F.R.S., Director, to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary, accompanying a Roman Speculum, exhibited by Sir* WILLIAM MIDDLETON, *Bart.*

Read 1st February, 1838.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

THE Roman Speculum exhibited, was, in December 1823, found on property belonging to Sir William Middleton, in the parish of Coddenham, in Suffolk. This elegant little ornament was brought to light by a labourer at work in an inclosure near the banks of the river Gypen, and with it were found a brown earthenware urn containing burnt human bones, and a small vessel of red pottery.

A Roman road leading to an ancient ford of the river passes through the inclosure close to the spot described, being, according to Dr. Mason, the road from Colchester, by Stratford on the Stour, to Caistor.

The Speculum is a portable trinket (Pl. XXV.), consisting of a thin circular bronze case, divided horizontally into two nearly equal portions which fit one into the other; and, being opened, it presents a convex mirror in each face of the interior. The drawing is executed to the full size of the ornament, the diameter of which is 2 inches $3\frac{1}{2}$ tenths, and the depth $2\frac{1}{2}$ tenths of an inch.

The case has, on one side, a head of Nero, and on the other, a very close imitation of the reverse of a coin of that Emperor in large brass, with the legend ADLOCVT. COH., representing the Emperor addressing the army. No legend appears on the Speculum. The reliefs are enchased.

The mirror set in the lower case is larger than the one in the upper, measuring 1 inch and 9 tenths in diameter; both are remarkable for their extraordinary preservation and brilliancy. The reflecting surface of each mirror is very thin, so that the removal of the least portion shows the body beneath.

Mr. Faraday, who has had the kindness to examine the Speculum, thinks that the reflecting face is not silver, and that it contains tin, and no antimony: he being of opinion that the mirror consists of a bronze body, with a tinned reflecting surface.

In the Supplement[a] to Montfaucon's "Livre de l'Antiquité expliquée," will be found an engraving of a Roman mirror from the cabinet of Mons. Mahudel, being the upper portion of a Speculum similar to that exhibited, and having a head of Nero upon it. Count Caylus[b] also describes a circular Roman mirror from Arles, which appears to be of the same character as Sir William Middleton's Speculum.

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN GAGE.

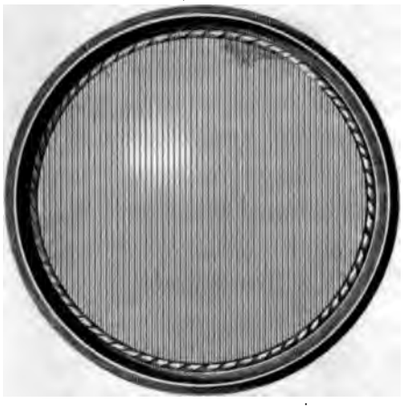
Sir Henry Ellis, F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

[a] Tom. iii. pl. xxi.

[b] Reçueil D'Antiquités, tom. iii. p. 331; vide also tom. v. p. 174, an analysis given by Count Caylus of the metals composing Roman mirrors.









Roman Speculum found at Coddenham in Suffolk.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 25th 1839

XXIV. *Inedited Documents relating to the Imprisonment and Condemnation of Sir Thomas More: Communicated by* JOHN BRUCE, *Esq. F.S.A., in a Letter to* THOMAS AMYOT, *Esq. F.R.S., Treasurer S.A.*

Read 15th December, 1836.

17, King's Parade, Chelsea,
29th November, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,

IF you agree with me in considering the two documents appended to this communication to be worthy of the attention of the Society of Antiquaries, I shall feel myself obliged by your transmitting them to the Secretary. They relate to that pure-minded sufferer for conscience-sake Sir Thomas More, whose character and fate render any thing which concerns him in the latter period of his life, of interest to the constitutional lawyer and the historian, as well as to the biographer.

It is not my intention to preface these documents with any lengthened detail of circumstances which I am aware are sufficiently well known; but one or two particulars are necessary to be called to mind in order to place their real value in a proper point of view.

Sir Thomas More was committed to the Tower on the 17th April 1534, for refusing to take, *not* the oath of supremacy, as is generally supposed, but the oath appointed by the statute of the 25th Henry VIII. cap. 22, to maintain the succession to the throne in the issue of that monarch by Anne Boleyn. The refusal of More, and various other persons, to take that oath was founded upon the circumstance that the form tendered to them contained assertions of the invalidity of the King's first marriage, and of the validity of his second marriage, and of his divorce from Queen Katharine. If those assertions, which were unnecessarily, and, as it would seem, illegally introduced into the form,

had been excluded, More would have taken the oath, for, it is worthy of remark, that he admitted the right of Parliament to alter the succession to the throne at pleasure.

It was enacted by the statute which imposed the oath to the succession, that a refusal to take that oath should be deemed misprision of treason, and that offenders should suffer imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and forfeit all the goods, chattels, and estates of which they were possessed at the time of "conviction and attainder of such offence." The last quoted words were probably considered to have reference to a conviction and attainder by the course of the Common Law; and therefore, in the case of Sir Thomas More, no forfeiture was insisted upon until it had been authorised by another Act of Parliament passed in the Parliament which met on the 3rd November, 1534. The latter Act was intituled "An Act concernyng the Attainder of Sir Thomas More," and was first printed in the authentic edition of the Statutes.[a] After reciting two grants of lands made by the King to Sir Thomas, by letters patent, dated the 8th May 1522, and the 16th January 1525, and that he had obstinately, frowardly, and contemptuously refused to take the oath to the succession, and had also unkindly and ingrately served the King by divers and sundry ways, means, and condicions, it was enacted that the grants which had been made to him should be null and void; that by his refusal to take the oath he had committed misprision of treason, and should stand attainted of the same; and that he should suffer imprisonment and forfeiture of his goods, chattels, and estates, in such manner as if he had been convicted of misprision of treason by due order of the Common Law.

The passing of this Act of Parliament gave occasion to the first of the documents to which I desire to draw the attention of the Society, and a copy of which will be found in an Appendix to this letter. The original occurs in a volume of the Arundel MSS.[b] which contains various collections relating to Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, and at any event one original letter from the former to Mrs. Roper. This volume passed through the hands of Bishop Burnet, who extracted from it the letter to Mrs. Roper, but took no notice of the following paper, which is, indeed, placed in such a manner as to

[a] Vol. iii. p. 528.

[b] No. 152, fol. 320 b.

be very easily overlooked. It is a petition to the King from the wife and children of Sir Thomas More, praying for his release from the Tower with only such entertainment of living out of his own forfeited estates as the King thought proper "in the way of mercy and pity to grant to him." In its form this document bears considerable resemblance to the early bills in Chancery, and from that circumstance, and also from the style of the composition, it may be inferred that it was probably written by Sir Thomas More himself; an inference which is in some degree aided by the circumstance that it follows in the volume immediately after a passage extracted from a Latin work of Sir Thomas's, in which he had argued, that all perjury was mortal sin. It is not unlikely that at the same time that he sent to his family the original draft of this petition, he transmitted to them that extract as an answer to their affectionate and reiterated entreaties that he would procure his release by submitting to take the oath.

It will be found from the facts alluded to in the petition that it must have been written about the month of December 1534, and that at that time no apprehension was entertained that the life of Sir Thomas was in any danger from the law.

The second document I inclose to you is a copy of the record of the indictment preferred against Sir Thomas More, and upon which he was put to death. In the beautiful biography of this admirable person which formed Sir James Mackintosh's last contribution to literature, it is remarked, that "it is lamentable that the records of the proceedings against such a man should be scanty. We do not," he continues, "certainly know the specific offence of which he was convicted."[c] This is a deficiency which I trust the Society of Antiquaries will think it comes strictly within its objects to supply. With that impression I have appended a copy of the long formal document itself; but as its barbarous Latinity, and its "perpetual iteration," (if I may not follow Falstaff's words more closely,) render it unfit for public reading, I shall shortly state its contents in a translated abstract.

Two copies of this document exist in the volume of Arundel MSS. to which I have before referred, both substantially alike, although with such differences

[c] Mackintosh's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 97.

in the contractions, and other minute matters, as seem to indicate that they were not copied from one another, but derived, either from the original entry upon record, or from some authentic transcript. The only historian who seems to have seen this document is Lord Herbert. The family biographers of More had their information as to its contents from those who were present at the trial. Roper expressly says, "Thus much touching Sir Thomas More's arraignment, being not there present myself, have I by the credible report of the Right Worshipful Sir Anthony Saintleger, and partly of Richard Haywood and John Webb, gentlemen, with others of good credit, at the hearing thereof present themselves, as far forth as my poor wit and memory would serve me, here truly rehearsed unto you."[d] This mode of obtaining information sufficiently accounts for the mistakes which have crept into Roper's narrative, and have been thence transferred from one to the other of More's biographers. If it were worth while to dwell upon the subject, the growth of various inaccuracies might be easily traced; but the value of documental illustration is now universally admitted, and such an inquiry would therefore be tedious without being really useful. It would prove incontestably that historical certainty can be founded upon nothing but documents; but that is a point which, at the present day, I hope it is not necessary either to argue or enforce.

The document is in the following form:—

Middlesex, to wit, An Inquisition taken at Westminster, before Sir John Fitz James, Knight; Sir John Baldewyn, Knight; Sir Richard Lyster, Knight; Sir John Port, Knight; Sir John Spelman, Knight; Sir Walter Luke, Knight; and Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knight; Justices, &c. on Monday next after the feast of Saint John the Baptist, by a Grand Jury composed of sixteen persons, whose names are enumerated, and who say upon their oath; that by a certain Act of Parliament of the 26th Henry VIII. it was enacted that the King and his heirs and successors should be taken, accepted, and reputed, the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, and should have and enjoy, annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity belonging; and that, by a certain other Act of the same parliament, it

[d] Roper's Life of More, edit. 1832, p. 89.

was enacted, that if any person, after the first day of February then next, should maliciously wish, will, or desire, in words or writing, or by craft imagine, invent, practise, or attempt to deprive the King, or the Queen, or the heir apparent, of the dignity, title, or name of their royal estates, that every such person, with his aidours, counsellors, consenters, and abettors, should be adjudged traitors, and suffer the pains of death, and other penalties, limited and accustomed, in cases of high treason.—That one Thomas More, late of Chelsea, in the county of Middlesex, Knight, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but instigated by the devil, on the 7th day of May, in the 27th year of the reign, being apprised of the said statutes, falsely, traitorously, and maliciously, in the Tower of London, imagining, inventing, practising, and attempting, and also wishing and desiring to deprive the King of his title of Supreme Head of the Church, being interrogated before Thomas Cromwell, the King's principal Secretary, and certain other persons, as to whether he accepted and took the King for Supreme Head of the Church, according to the said statute, the said Thomas then and there maliciously held his peace, and refused to give a direct answer to the said interrogatory, saying, in the English tongue, the words following: "I will not meddle with any such matters, for I am fully determined to serve God; and to think upon his passion, and my passage out of this world." That afterwards, on the 12th day of the said month of May, the said Thomas More, knowing that one John Fisher, clerk, who was then a prisoner in the Tower, had been examined concerning the premises, and had expressly denied the King to be Supreme Head of the Church, he, the said Thomas More, expecting that the said John Fisher and himself would be again examined about the same matters, wrote divers letters to the said John Fisher, and caused the same to be delivered to him by one George Gold, by which said letters the said Thomas More falsely, maliciously, and traitorously counselled the said John Fisher in his said treason, and consented thereto; intimating in his said letters the aforesaid silence which, when interrogated, he had maintained, and communicating his aforesaid negative reply in the English words aforesaid, and, moreover, in the said letters, writing and asserting these English words: "The act of parliament," meaning the act lastly before mentioned, "is like a sword with two edges; for if a man answer one way it will confound his soul, and if he answer the other way it will confound his body."

And afterwards the said Thomas More, fearing that the said John Fisher in his examination should happen to make use of the words written by the said Thomas More to the said John Fisher as aforesaid, on the said 26th day of May, by his other letters, to the said John Fisher directed, and delivered as before, falsely, maliciously, and traitorously desired the said John Fisher to make his answer according to his own mind, and in nowise to make any such answer as he the said Thomas More had before written to the said John Fisher, lest he should furnish occasion to the King's Counsellors to think that there was a confederacy between them; nevertheless it arose out of the said letters that the said John Fisher, having been by the said letters of the said Thomas More falsely, maliciously, and traitorously taught and instructed, and thereby as it were encouraged, afterwards, on the 3rd June, in the 27th year aforesaid, being examined concerning the premises by Sir Thomas Audeley, Knight, Chancellor of England, Charles Duke of Suffolk, Thomas Earl of Wilts, and others, altogether held his peace, and refused to give a direct answer thereto, saying, in the English tongue, the words following: "I will not meddle with that matter, for the statute is like a two-edged sword; and if I should answer one way I should put my life in jeopardy, and, answering another way, I put my soule in more jeopardy; wherefore to this matter I will make no answer at all;" and the said Thomas More, being again interrogated on the said 3rd day of June, in the said 27th year, falsely, maliciously, and traitorously persevered in his said silence, and would not make any direct answer, but imagining to deprive the King of the dignity, title, or name of his royal estate, and to sow and generate sedition and malignity in the hearts of his true subjects, spoke openly the following words: "The law and statute whereby the King is made Supreme Head be like a sword with two edges; for, if a man say that the same laws be good, then it is dangerous to the soul, and if he say contrary to the said statute, then it is death to the body; wherefore I will make thereto no other answer, because I will not be occasion of shortening my life." And moreover the said Jurors say, that the said Thomas More and John Fisher, in order to conceal their most false and wicked treason, burnt all the letters which passed between them immediately after reading the same.

That afterwards, on the 12th June in the 27th year aforesaid, there came

to the said Thomas More, in the Tower, Richard Rich, Solicitor General to the King, and in the course of conversation the said Richard Rich affectionately urged the said Thomas More to the utmost of his power to conform to the Acts aforesaid, to which the said Thomas More replied: "Your conscience will save you, and my conscience will save me." And the said Richard Rich, then and there protesting that he had no commission or authority to treat with the said Thomas More in that behalf, asked him, if it should have been enacted by parliament that he, the said Richard Rich, was King, and that it should be treason to deny it, what would be the offence of the said Thomas More if he should say that he the said Richard Rich was King? and the said Richard Rich further said, that he verily thought in his conscience there would be no offence, but that the said Thomas More ought to say so, inasmuch as he was bound to obey the Act of Parliament. To which the said Thomas More replied, that he should offend if he were to say "No;" because he might be bound by an Act of Parliament in such a matter, which was one with respect to which a man might exercise a discretion. But he said, that that was a frivolous case, and that he would put another case of a higher character: "Suppose it should be declared by Act of Parliament, that God should not be God, and that if any one impugned that Act it should be treason. If the question were put to you, 'Richard Rich, will you say that God shall not be God according to the statute?' and you were to say 'Aye,' would you not offend?" To which the said Richard Rich replied, "Nay, certainly, because it is impossible that God should not be God; and because your case is too high, I will propose one to you which lies between the two. You know that our Lord the King is constituted Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, and why then, should not you, Master More, affirm and take him for such, as, in the former case, in which I was made King, you agree you would have taken me for King?" And the said Thomas More, falsely, traitorously, and maliciously persevering in his treason and malice, replied, "That the cases were not alike, because a King might by Parliament be made, and by Parliament be deposed, and that every subject being present in Parliament gives his consent to such an Act; but, as to the case of the Supreme Head, a subject could not be bound, because it was not a thing to which he could give his consent in Parliament; and that although the King might be so accepted in England, the

most part of foreign nations are of a contrary opinion." And the jurors aforesaid say, that in this manner the aforesaid Thomas More falsely, traitorously, and maliciously, by craft imagined, invented, practised, and attempted, to deprive the King of his dignity, title, and name of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England.

These are the charges. The record ends with the names of the petty jurors by whom Sir Thomas More was found guilty; and the entry of the frightful sentence of the Law in cases of Treason.

The certainty which this document confers upon the circumstances connected with this memorable trial and condemnation are too obvious to need pointing out, nor is it necessary for me to dwell upon its absurdities; the treason inferred from silence; the unfair construction put upon the letters to Fisher; and the other palpable iniquities with which it abounds.

It is almost incredible that a man who had filled the most dignified office in the State, and "over whom," it has been remarked, "it does not seem that in any moral respect Socrates himself could claim a superiority," should have been doomed to an ignominious death upon pretences such as these. In the minds of those who condemned Sir Thomas More it is evident that the enactments of a Parliament were regarded with that tacit submission and acquiescence which ought to be reserved for those moral laws, the obligations of which are superior to all human legislation. If, to this perversion in morals, we add the violence of party spirit, consequent upon the destruction of institutions long established, and venerable, even if erroneous, we may perhaps account for some portion of the apparent insensibility with which the people witnessed an act of cruelty so atrocious.

It will be observed that two most important points of constitutional law are affirmed in the Indictment in such manner as to prove that they were neither forgotten nor disputed even in the reign of Henry VIII. I allude to the doctrines that Parliament might depose the Sovereign at pleasure; and that every person was held to be virtually present in Parliament, and, by his representatives, to give his consent to the Acts passed.

I am, my dear Sir, very truly yours,

JOHN BRUCE.

To Thomas Amyot, Esq. F.R.S.
Treasurer S. A., &c.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

PETITION FROM THE WIFE AND CHILDREN OF SIR THOMAS MORE TO HENRY VIII.

(*Arundel MS. No.* 152, *fol.* 320 b.)

In lamentable wise beseche yo^r^ moste noble grace yo^r^ moste humble subiects and contynuall bedefolke, the poore miserable wyffe and children of yo^r^ trew, poore, hevye subiecte and bedeman S^r^ Thomas Moore, Knighte, y^t^ wheras the same S^r^ Thomas, being yo^r^ graces prisoner, in yo^r^ Tower of London, by the space of eighte monethes and above, in greate cõtinuall sicknes of bodye and hevines of harte, duringe all w^ch^ space, notw^thstandinge y^t^ the same S^r^ Thomas Moore had, by refusinge of the othe, forfayted unto yo^r^ moste noble grace all his goods and cattells & the pfytt of all his landes, anuities and fees, y^t^ as well hyme selfe as yo^r^ saide bedwoman his wiffe shoulde lyve bye, yet yo^r^ most gracious highenes, of yo^r^ moste blessed disposition, suffred yo^r^ saide bedewoman, his poore wiffe, to reteyne and keepe still his moveable goodes, and the reuenewes of his lands, to keepe her saide husband and her poore howseholde w^th^. So it is now, moste gracious soveraigne, y^t^ now late, by reason of a new acte, or twane, made in this laste passed progacõn of yo^r^ pliament, not onelye the saide former forfayture ys confirmed, but allso thinheritance of all suche landes and tenements as the same S^r^ Thomas had of yo^r^ moste bowntifull gyfte, amountinge to the yearelie valew [of] lx^li^. is forfayted allso, And thus, (except yo^r^ mercifull favo^r^ be shewed,) yo^r^ saide poore bedewoman, his wyffe, w^ch^ broughte faire substance to hyme, w^ch^ is all spente in yo^r^ graces s'vice, ys likelie to be utterlye undone, and his poore soñe, one of yo^r^ saide humble suppliants, standing chardged & bownden for the paymente of greate soñes of money due by the saide S^r^ Thomas unto yo^r^ grace, standithe in dangeer to be cast aweye and undone in this worlde allso. But, over all this, the saide S^r^ Thomas hymeselfe, after his longe trew s^r^vice to his power diligentlie done to yo^r^ grace, is likelie, in his age and contynuall sickenes, for lacke of comforte and good kepinge to be shortlie distroyd, to the wofull heavines and dedlie discomforte of all yo^r^ saide sorrowfull suppliants. In consideracõne of the premises, y^t^ his offence ys growen not of eny malice, or obstinate mynde, but of suche a longe contynued and depe rooted scrupple as passeth his power to avoyde & put awey, it may like yo^r^ moste noble maiestie, of yo^r^ moste habundant grace, To remitte and pdon yo^r^ moste grevous displeasure to the saide S^r^ Thomas, & to have tendre pittye and cõpassion uppõ his longe distres, & greate heavines, and, for the tendre mercye of God, to delyver hyme out of

prison, and suffre hyme quietlie to lyve the remanaunt of his liffe, w^th^ yo^r^ saide poore bedewoman his wiffe, and other of yo^r^ poore suppliants, his children, w^th^ onlye suche interteynmente of lyvinge as it shall lyke yo^r^ most noble magistye of yo^r^ gracious almoys and pyttye to appointe hyme, And this in the waye of mercye and pittye, & all yo^r^ saide poore bedfolke shall daylie duringe their lyves pray to God for the pres^r^vacon of yo^r^ moste Royall estate.

No. II.

INDICTMENT AGAINST SIR THOMAS MORE.

(*Arundel MS. No.* 152, *fol.* 308, *and fol.* 322 ^b^.)

Midd', scilicet: Inquisitio capta apud villam Westm', in comitatu predicto, coram prefatis Johanne Fitz-James milite, Johanne Baldewyn milite, Ricardo Lister milite, Johanne Port milite, Johanne Spilman milite, Waltero Luke milite, et Anthonio Fitzharbert milite, Justiciariis &c. dicto die Lune proximo post festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste, per sacramentum Thome Tailer, Roberti Grant, Willielmi Russell, Henrici Croke, Roberti Bowden, Eustacii Ripley, Christoferi Procter, Henrici Grafney, Johannis Grove, Willielmi Grymbilly, Johannis Apswell, Johannis Miller, Johannis Wilkinson, Thome Colte, Willielmi Stevenson, et Walteri Philips, juratorum, qui dicunt, super sacramentum suum, quòd, cum per quendam actum in parleamento Domini nostri Regis nunc apud London' tertio die Novembris anno regni sui vicesimo primo inchoato, et abinde eodem tertio die Novembris usque ad Villam Westm' in comitatu Midd' prorogato, et postea, per diversas prorogaciones, usque ad et in tertium diem Novembris anno regni sui vicesimo sexto continuato, et tunc apud dictam villam Westm' tento, editum, inter cetera, auctoritate eiusdem parleamenti inactitatum sit, quòd idem Dominus rex, heredes et successores sui, huius regni reges accepti, acceptati et reputati erunt unicum Supremum Caput in terra Anglicane Ecclesie, habebuntque et gaudebunt, annexum et unitum imperiali corone huius regni, tam titulum et stilum inde quàm omnia honores, dignitates, preeminentias, privelegia, auctoritates, immunitates, commoda et commoditates dicte dignitati Supremi Capitis eiusdem Ecclesie incumbentia et pertinentia, prout in eodem actu, inter alia, plenius continetur; Cùmque etiam per quendam alterum actum, in dicto parleamento dicto anno vicesimo sexto tento, editum, inter cetera inactitatum sit, quòd si aliqua persona, aut alique persone, post primum diem Februarii tunc proximi sequentis, maliciose optaverit, voluerit, seu desideraverit per verba vel scripta, aut arte imaginaverit, inventaverit, practitaverit, sive attemptaverit, aliquod damnum corporale fiendum aut committendum regalissime persone domini Regis, Regine,

aut eorum heredibus apparentibus, vel ad deprivandum eos, aut eorum aliquem, de dignitate, titulo, seu nomine regalium statuum suorum, quod quelibet talis persona et persone, sic offendentes in aliquo premissorum post dictum primum diem Februarii, atque eorum auxiliatores, consentores, consiliarii et abettatores, inde legitime convicti existentes, secundum leges et consuetudines huius regni adiudicabuntur proditores, et quod quelibet talis offensa in aliquo premissorum que committeretur aut fieret, post dictum primum diem Februarii, reputabitur, acceptabitur, et adjudicabitur alta prodicio, et offensores in eisdem, ac eorum auxiliatores, consentores, consiliarii, et abbettatores, legitime convicti existentes de aliqua tali offensa qualis predicitur, habebunt et pacientur tales penas mortis, et alias penalitates quales limitate sunt et consuete in casibus alte prodicionis, prout in dicto altero actu manifeste patet.

Quidam tamen Thomas More, nuper de Chelchithe, in comitatu Midd', miles, Deum pre oculis non habens, sed instigatione diabolica seductus, septimo die Maii anno regni dicti domini vicesimo septimo, statutorum predictorum satis sciolus, false, proditorie, et maliciose, apud Turrim London', in comitatu predicto, imaginans, inventans, practitans et attemptans, atque volens, et desiderans, contra legiancie sue debitum, prefatum serenissimum dominum nostrum regem de dignitate, titulo, et nomine statûs sui regalis, videlicet, de dignitate, titulo et nomine suis Supremi Capitis in terra Anglicane Ecclesie, deprivare, dicto septimo die, apud dictam Turrim London', in Comitatu predicto, coram Thoma Cromwell armigero, primario Secretario Domini Regis, Thoma Bedell clerico, Johanne Tregonwell legum Doctore, Consiliariis dicti Domini Regis, et coram diversis aliis personis ejusdem domini Regis veris subditis, per mandatum ipsius Domini Regis examinatus et interrogatus, an ipse eundem Dominum Regem Supremum Caput in terra Ecclesie Anglicane accipiebat, acceptabat, et reputabat, et eum sic accipere, acceptare, et reputare, vellet, secundum formam et effectum statuti predicti prius recitati, idem Thomas tunc et ibidem maliciose penitus silebat, responsumque directum ad illud interrogatorium facere recusabat, et hec verba Anglicana sequentia dictis domini Regis veris subditis adtunc et ibidem edicebat, videlicet, "I will not medle with any such matters, for I am fully determined to serve God, and to thinke upon his passion and my passage out of this world;" posteaque, videlicet duodecimo die dicte mensis Maii, anno vicesimo septimo supradicto, prefatus Thomas More, sciens quendam Johannem Fissher clericum, tunc, et diu antea, in dicta Turri London', pro diversis grandibus misprisionibus per ipsum Johannem erga dicti domini nostri Regis regiam Majestatem perpetratis, fore incarceratum et detentum, ac per dictos domini Regis veros subditos, de eius acceptione, acceptacione, et reputacione, eiusdem domini Regis in premissis fuisse examinatum, eundemque Johannem Fissher false, proditorie, et maliciose, expresse negasse prefatum dominum Regem sic accipere, acceptare, et reputare, Supremum Caput in terra Ecclesie Anglicane fore, idemque Thomas More, existimans se ipsum et prefatum Johannem

Fissher de premissis alias ex verisimili tunc fore examinandos et interrogandos, diversas literas dicto duodecimo die Maii, apud dictam Turrim London', in predicto Comitatu Midd', continuando maliciam suam predictam, false, maliciose, et proditorie scripsit, easque prefato Johanni Fissher in dicta Turri London' tunc existenti porrexit, et, per quendam Georgium Gold, eisdem die, anno, et loco transmitti et deliberari fecit; per quas quidem literas predictas predictus Thomas More false, maliciose, et proditorie prefatum Johannem Fissher in dicta eius falsa prodicione consulebat et consentiebat, et, per easdem intimans eidem Johanni dictum silentium quod idem Thomas More ut prefertur interrogatus habuisset, responsumque suum negatum, in verbis Anglicanis supra scriptis expressis verbis scriptis revelans, et, insuper, per easdem literas false, proditorie, et maliciose scribens et asserens hec verba Anglicana, videlicet, "The acte of parleament" (dictum actum posterius recitatum innuens) "ys lyke a swerd with two edges, for if a man answer one waye it will confound his soule, and if he answer the other way it will confound his body;" postmodum prefatus Thomas More, metuens ne contingeret prefatum Johannem Fissher in ejus responso, supra iterata examinacione ipsius Johannis fienda, predicta verba, per ipsum Thomam eidem Johanni Fissher ut prefertur scripta, consiliariis dicti domini regis eloqui, idem Thomas More, apud Turrim London' predictam, vicesimo sexto die Maii anno vicesimo septimo supradicto, per eius alias litteras scriptas et prefato Johanni Fisher directas, et apud Turrim London' deliberatas, eundem Johannem Fissher false, maliciose et proditorie desiderabat, quatenus idem Johannes responsum suum secundum ejus proprium animum faceret, et cum aliquo tali responso quale idem Thomas prefato Johanni Fissher antea scripsisset nullatenus intromitteretur, ne forsan dictis consiliariis domini Regis occasionem putandi præberet quod equalis erat inter eosdem Thomam et Johannem consideratio. Attamen, ex dictis literis prefati Thome More prius scriptis, et dicto Johanni Fissher ut præmittitur porrectis et deliberatis, ita insecutum est, videlicet, idem Johannes Fissher, per dictas literas prefati Thome More false, maliciose, et proditorie doctus, et instructus, et exinde quodammodo animatus, postea, videlicet, tertio die Junii anno vicesimo septimo supra dicto, apud Turrim London' predictam, per Thomam Audeley militem, Cancellarium Anglie, Carolum Ducem Suff', Thomam Comitem Wiltes', dicti Domini Regis nobiles subditos et consiliarios, et alios eiusdem domini Regis venerabiles subditos et consiliarios, denuo de premissis examinatus et interrogatus, penitus silebat, responsumque directum ad id facere nolebat, sed hec Anglicana verba sequentia adtunc et ibidem dictis nobilibus et venerabilibus domini Regis subditis et consiliariis false, proditorie, et maliciose edicebat, videlicet, "I will not medle with that matter, for the Statute ys like a two edged swerd, and, if I should answer one way, I should put my life in ieoperdy, and, answering another way, I put my soule in more ieoperdy; wherefore, to this matter I will make no answer at all." Prefatusque Thomas More, dicto tertio die Junii, anno vicesimo septimo supradicto, apud Turrim

predictam, per dictos domini Regis nobiles et venerabiles subditos et consiliarios iterum de premissis interrogatus, in dicto ejus silentio false, maliciose, et proditorie adtunc et ibidem perseverabat, directumque responsum ad premissa facere nolebat, immo false, proditorie, et maliciose, adtunc et ibidem imaginans, inventans, practitans, et attemptans, atque volens, et desiderans, prefatum Dominum nostrum regem de dignitate, titulo et nomine status sui regalis supradicti deprivare, seditionemque et malignitatem in cordibus verorum subditorum domini Regis erga eundem dominum regem inserere et generare, prefatis nobilibus et venerabilibus dicti Domini Regis subditis et consiliariis adtunc et ibidem subsequentia verba Anglicana palam dicebat, videlicet, " The law and statute whereby the King is made Supreame Head, as is aforesaid, be like a swerd with two edges; for, if a man say that the same lawes be good, then is it dangerous to the soule; and if he say contrary to the said statute, then is it deathe to the body. Wherfore I will make therto no other answer because I will not be occasion of shortenyng my life." Et insuper juratores predicti dicunt, quod predicti Thomas More et Johannes Fissher, ad eorum supradictum falsum et nefandissimum proditorium propositum celandum, omnes et omnimodas literas alterutrum scriptas et deliberatas, et eorum unus et alter, immediate post lecturas earundem combussit. Et, post hec omnia et singula premissa, ut premittitur peracta et dicta, videlicet, duodecimo die Junii, anno vicesimo septimo supradicto, accessit ad prefatum Thomam More, in predictam Turrim London', Ricardus Riche, Generalis Solicitor dicti Domini Regis, habitoque, tunc et ibidem, inter eosdem Thomam More et Ricardum Riche colloquio, de diversis premissa tangentibus, idem Ricardus Riche caritative movebat prefatum Thomam More, quatenus se vellet, actibus et legibus suprascriptis conformare; ad quod idem Thomas, respondendo prefato Ricardo Riche, dicebat, " Conscientia vestra salvabit vos, et conscientia mea salvabit me." Prefatusque Ricardus Riche, adtunc et ibidem protestans quod tunc non habebat commissionem, sive mandatum, cum eodem Thoma More de materia illa tractare, sive communicare, eundem Thomam More adtunc et ibidem interrogabat, si inactitatum fuisset auctoritate parleamenti quod idem Ricardus Riche erat rex, et quod si quis id negaret prodicio esset, qualis esset offensa in prefato Thoma More si idem Thomas diceret quod prefatus Ricardus Riche erat rex, pro certo, ulterius dicebat idem Ricardus Riche, in conscientia ejus quod nulla esset offensa, sed quod idem Thomas More obligatus erat sic dicere, et eundem Ricardum acceptare pro eo quod consensus prefati Thome More per actum parleamenti erat obligatus. Ad quod prefatus Thomas More, adtunc et ibidem respondens, dicebat, quod ipse offenderet si diceret non, quia obligatus esset per actum pro eo quod consensum suum ad id præbere potuit, sed dicebat quod idem casus erat casus levis; quamobrem idem Thomas adtunc et ibidem prefato Ricardo Riche dicebat, quod ipse alium casum sublimiorem proponere vellet, sic dicens, " Posito quod per parleamentum inactitatum foret quod Deus non esset Deus, et quod si quis impugnare vellet, actum illum foret

prodicio, si interrogaretur questio a vobis, Ricarde Riche, velitis dicere quod Deus non esset Deus accordante statuto, et si sic diceretis, non offenderetis?" Ad quod idem Ricardus, respondens prefato Thome More, adtunc et ibidem dicebat; "Immo, pro certe; quia impossibile est fieri quod Deus non esset Deus. Et quia casus vester adeo sublimis existit, proponam vobis hunc casum mediocrem, videlicet, novistis quia dominus noster rex constitutus est Supremum Caput in terra Ecclesie Anglicane, et quare non deberetis vos, Magister More, eum sic affirmare et acceptare, tam sic quam in casu premisso quo ego prefectus eram rex, in quo casu conceditis quod obligamini me sic affirmare et acceptare regem?" Ad quod prefatus Thomas More false, proditorie, et maliciose in dictis ejus proditione et malicia perseverans, predictumque ejus proditorium et maliciosum propositum et appetitum preferre et defendere volens, prefato Ricardo Riche adtunc et ibidem sic respondebat, videlicet, quod casus illi non erant consimiles, quia, rex per parleamentum fieri potest, et per parleamentum deprivari potest, ad quem actum quilibet subditus ad parleamentum existens suum prebet consensum, sed, ad primacie casum, subditus non potest obligari, quia consensum suum ab eo ad parleamentum prebere non potest; et, quamquam rex sic acceptus sit in Anglia plurime tamen partes extere idem non affirmant." Sicque juratores predicti dicunt, quod prefatus Thomas More false, proditorie, et maliciose, arte imaginavit, inventavit, practitavit, et attemptavit prefatum serenissimum Dominum nostrum Regem de dictis dignitate, titulo et nomine Supremi Capitis in terra Anglicane Ecclesie penitus deprivare, in ipsius Domini Regis contemptum manifestum, et corone sue regie derogationem, contra formam et effectum statutorum predictorum, et contra pacem ejusdem Domini Regis.

JURATORES.

Thomas Palmer, miles.	Willielmus Browne, armiger.
Thomas Sperte, miles.	Jasper Leake, armiger.
Georgius Lovell, armiger.	Thomas Billington, armiger.
Thomas Burbage, armiger.	Johannes Parnell, gent'.
Galfridus Chamber, gent'.	Ricardus Bellamy, gent'.
Edwardus Stokwod, gent'.	Georgius Stok, gent'.

Consideratum est, quod predictus Thomas More ducatur per prefatum Willielmum Kyngston, deputatum &c. usque Turrim London'. Et inde, per medium civitatis London', directe usque ad furcas de Tiborne trahatur; et super furcas illas ibidem suspendatur, et, vivens, ad terram prosternatur; et interiora sua extra ventrem suum capiantur, ipsoque vivente comburentur; et caput ejus amputetur; quodque corpus ejus in quatuor partes dividatur; et quod caput et quarteria sua ponantur ubi Dominus Rex assignare voluerit, &c.

XXV. *Remarks on the Matrix of the Seal of Boxgrave Priory, in Sussex; by Sir* FREDERIC MADDEN, *K.H. F.R.S. F.S.A. in a Letter to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H. F.R.S. Sec. S.A.*

Read 9th March, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR, British Museum, March 6, 1837.

ABOUT six years ago I had the pleasure of submitting to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, by the hands of our worthy Treasurer, impressions from the very curious matrix of the Seal of Southwick Priory in Hampshire; engravings of which, accompanied by some observations, were inserted in the twenty-third volume of the *Archæologia*, pp. 374-379. At that period I stated truly that it was the only existing matrix of a very peculiar mode of forming conventual Seals; but recently another instance has been discovered, some account of which may not be unacceptable. Some laborers at work in excavating a railway, the precise locality of which has not been ascertained, are stated to have dug up an earthen pot or urn, in which were found two original matrices of brass, which subsequently came into the hands of Mr. Chamberlain, optician, of Broad Street, St. Giles's, in whose possession they now are, and by whose leave I am able to lay impressions of them before the Society. The most important proves to be the Seal of the Benedictine Priory of Boxgrave, in Sussex, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Blaise; the foundation of which by Robert de Haye took place in the reign of Henry the First, when it was annexed as a cell to the monastery of Essay, in Normandy; and although ordered to be suppressed in 1414, together with the other alien priories, continued to exist till the final dissolution under Henry the Eighth.

No ancient impressions from it are known to exist (although it is probable some may yet be found attached to charters in private hands), for the imperfect seal of this Priory, described in the Monasticon, vol. iv. p. 643, as annexed to a lease in the Augmentation Office, dated 24 Hen. VIII. is not from the matrix in question, but from an earlier one, as will appear on comparison. The present matrix is very remarkable, as affording another example, in addition to those of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Southwick, of that difficult mode of preparing seals, by which the impress on the dors of the one half was introduced into the face of the corresponding half. It exhibits also some peculiarities of structure, which are deserving of notice, and which I shall proceed to describe.

The matrix (Pl. XXVI.) is of an oval shape, about $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth, and consists of two distinct pieces, the lower half of which (*b*) has two loops at each end, between which, in preparing an impression, the single loop of the upper half (*a*) is inserted; but there is no reason to believe there ever was a revolving pivot or wire through the loops, as it would have prevented the pieces from working round. On the face of (*a*), forming the *obverse* of the Seal, is represented the front of a monastic building, similar in its details to those on many seals of the latter half of the thirteenth century. In the upper part, within a trefoil, is the head of Jesus Christ in the act of benediction; in the middle, under canopies, appear whole-length figures of Gabriel and the Virgin, with the half figure of a monk in smaller niches on either side, in the attitude of prayer; whilst below, in a quatre-foil, we have the head of a Bishop, probably intended for Blaise, the patron saint. Around is the following legend:

SIGILL'. ЄCCL'Є: SC̄Є: MARIЄ: SC̄IQ,: BLASII: DЄ: BOXGRAVA:

Sigillum ecclesie Sancte Marie Sanctique Blasii de Boxgrava.

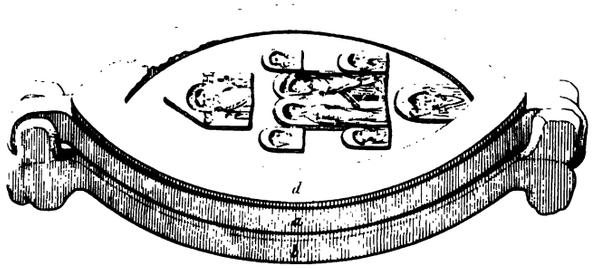
On the exterior, or dors, of this piece, are engraved in compartments, raised above the ground, similar figures and heads to those just described, and which, in fact, were originally designed by the maker of the seal to occupy their places when the impression was made. They are rather larger, and of earlier execution. On each side of the head of Christ appear the letters A Ω;

a (face)



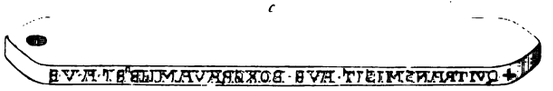
b (face)



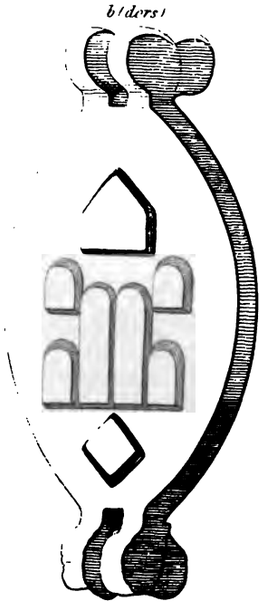


d

c



b (dors)



a (dors)



Matrix of the Seal of Bargnue Priory in Sussex.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April, 1836



two additional heads (perhaps meant for Peter and Paul) are designed to fill the spaces which are occupied on the obverse by plain quatre-foils; between the angel and the virgin is a scroll with the words AVE MARIA, and an altar or portiforium below; and instead of the mere head of Bishop Blaise, we have his half-length, holding a crosier, and his name, apparently, engraved above. The face of the corresponding half (*b*) forming the *reverse* of the seal, represents the Virgin seated under a trefoil canopy, with the infant Jesus in her lap, and holding up in her right hand a fleur-de-lis, or lilly. On either side of her are trees with birds on them, and her feet rest, as in the instance of the seal of Merton Priory, on an elegantly ornamented corbel. Round the marginwe read a rhyming legend, as follows:

+ DICIT · ЄX · LIGNO : UIRIDI · BOXGͣVIA DIGNO ·
Dicitur ex ligno viridi Boxgravia digno,

NOIЄ · NA · CRЄSCIT · VRTVTıBꝰ · ⁊ Q, · VIRЄSCIT.
Nomini nam crescit, virtutitibus atque virescit.

On the dors are eight blank compartments of different shapes, raised from the ground, and destined to cover the corresponding places on the obverse of the Seal.

Now the mode of making an impression from this four-surfaced matrix, according to the original design of its fabricator, was evidently thus. A layer of wax was spread on the face of (*b*), on which was laid the dors of (*a*) thereby impressing the wax on both sides, and forming one half of the seal. Another layer was then spread on the face of (*a*), on which was laid the dors of (*b*), impressing both sides, and forming the other half of the seal. This will be more clearly exemplified by an inspection of the impressions I have had made. The two halves were now joined together, precisely as in the case of the Southwick Seal, when by breaking through the compartments marked out by the dors of (*b*), the figures on the dors of (*a*) appear through, and form, as it were, part of the obverse. This process, as in all similar cases, where the seal consisted of two distinct pieces joined together, would make the edge of considerable thickness; to cover which, and to conceal the mark of junction, a legend was impressed on it, as in the examples furnished us by the seals of

Christ Church,[a] Merton,[b] Norwich,[c] Rochester,[d] St. Edmund's Bury,[e] and perhaps some others.[f] In my former communication on this subject I conjectured that this legend on the edge was impressed by a *lamina* of metal, either circular or oval. I was partly right in this supposition, but the form was not oval or circular, but straight and flat, as proved by the lamina of the Boxgrave matrix, which, very fortunately, was found with it, and which in all probability is the only surviving specimen. This lamina is of brass, rather more than four inches in length by $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in width, and $\frac{1}{8}$ in thickness. (See the Plate.) On either edge, is engraved longitudinally a rhyming legend, which exactly filled up the edge of the seal; to be read thus:

+ QVI . TRANSMISIT · AVE · BOXGRAVAM · LIBERET · A · VE :
Qui transmisit Ave, Boxgravam liberet à væ,
+ IVDICIVMQ : GRAVE : NON : SENTIAT · IMMO : SVAVE :
Judiciumque grave non sentiat, immo suave!

The allusion, no doubt, is to the Salutation of the Virgin, represented on the reverse of the Seal.

It is evident, therefore, that the original fabricator of the matrix designed to accomplish by two pieces what in the case of the Southwick seal was done by three, but without the same success; for, from a close inspection of the pieces as they now appear, it is also evident, that the monks of Boxgrave, on account probably of the difficulty of making impressions in the manner described, caused some alterations to be made in the matrix, and confined themselves to the easy method of taking a simple obverse and reverse. This conclusion is drawn from the following considerations: The eight compartments on the face of (*a*), now occupied by heads and figures, were no doubt originally left blank as in the Southwick seal, and were raised higher than they appear at present;

[a] Cott. Chart. xxi. 11. [b] Cott. Chart. xxi. 25. [c] Topham, Chart. 43.
[d] Cott. Chart. iv. 53. [e] Cott. Chart. xxi. 7.
[f] It is to be regretted that in most of these instances the legend on the margin is so imperfect as to be nearly illegible. That on the seal of Norwich is interesting, from its containing the date when the seal itself was made: ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO DVCENTESIMO QUINQUAGESIMO OCTAVO FACTVM EST HOC SIGILLUM. See an engraving in Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. ii. fol. Norw. 1745.

but on determining to give up the use of the corresponding figures on the dors, these compartments were cut down, and engraved in a similar manner. The natural consequence is, that at present it is almost impossible to make an impression as originally designed, since, from the compartments being lowered, the thickness of the wax over those parts becomes so much greater, that they cannot be broken through without the risk of destroying the remainder. But this is not all. For some cause or other the monks seem to have been dissatisfied with the original legend on the face of (*b*), and subsequently caused the whole to be cut off, and a new collar of brass soldered on in its place, on which was engraved the legend as it now appears. The soldering is executed very neatly, but is clearly perceptible, and the legend itself betrays marks of more recent execution than the one on the obverse. There still remained an additional piece of work; for on applying the dors of (*a*) to the face of (*b*), the monks found that in consequence of the margin of the dors having been originally cut down, for the purpose of obtaining a sharper impress of the reverse, there was now not sufficient pressure on the newly executed legend to bring it up, and consequently another plain collar of brass was made, and soldered on to the dors, so as to make the superficies level. This collar, from the effect of damp, and the *ærugo* it contracted whilst buried, was loose when discovered, and is now detached from the matrix.

The second matrix, found with the preceding, is also oval, and of rather earlier workmanship, consisting of a single piece, with a shank on the back, pierced with a trefoil to hold it by, when making an impression. On it is represented a female figure standing, and holding, apparently, a box to receive alms. Round the margin we read very distinctly:

S' · S' · RADЄG' · LЄPSAR' · DЄ LOCOVЄR' ·
Sigillum Sanctæ Radegundis Leprosarum de Locovere,

FR'M ЄT SOR' · ЄIVSD' · LOCI.
Fratrum et Sororum ejusdem loci.

I have looked in vain into the Monasticon and Tanner, to discover the locality of this Hospital for leprous persons, dedicated to St. Radegund, and shall be glad to find it receive illustration from any other member of the Society.

I have only, before I conclude, to express my thanks to Mr. Doubleday, for furnishing me with the impressions here exhibited, and for his practical remarks on their formation.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

F. MADDEN.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.

XXVI. *Observations on the mode adopted by Masons at various and distant periods in forming a Straight Head over an Aperture. By* Sydney Smirke, *Esq. F.S.A., in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 1st February, 1838.

Dear Sir, 12, Regent Street, Feb. 1, 1838.

It was remarked by the late eminent engineer, Mr. Milne, that in his tour through the classical regions of Europe, he derived more professional benefit from an examination of the construction of ancient masonry than from any other subject that engaged his attention. Although it is not to be expected that the Antiquary will regard this subject with equal interest, yet I think a little experience will convince him that a careful consideration of the technical construction of ancient buildings is not wholly devoid either of utility or interest, and may render him important assistance in determining their date. In confirmation of this I need only point to the admirable essay of one of our most distinguished members, Mr. Hamilton, on the Ancient Fortresses of Greece, in the fifteenth volume of Archæologia; an essay which I have always regarded as a model of antiquarian inquiry, and one not surpassed in point of interest and value by any of our published Transactions.

But it is not only on classic ground that this subject demands attention, nor is it upon works of the earliest antiquity alone that our examination of the artifices of construction can be advantageously bestowed. I am persuaded, that, if as much attention were paid to the substantial details of structure visible in our own old buildings as has been given to the contour of mouldings and other purely ornamental forms, much light would be thrown upon

the disputed chronology of these and similar works, and many data of general application might perhaps be established. This is a vein of inquiry to which I beg leave to invite the attention of intelligent and competent observers, and in the pursuit of which I think they may anticipate a profitable result.

As an example of the sort of inquiry which I have suggested, I submit to you some sketches (Pl. XXVII.) explanatory of the mode adopted by masons at various and distant periods in forming a straight head over an aperture.

No. 1 is a representation, drawn from detailed memoranda taken by myself in 1825, of the lintel over the great doorway leading into the cella of the temple usually called the Temple of Concord, on the site of the ancient Agrigentum, in Sicily. The date of this building, like most of the Greek remains in that island, is unfortunately unknown; Biscari and other Sicilian antiquaries consider it to belong to a period subsequent to the Punic war, because Diodorus states all the temples of Agrigentum to have been either burnt or wholly destroyed by frequent seiges, whereas this building is remaining tolerably perfect: but this does not appear to me conclusive evidence, for, although the columns, entablature, and cella walls are certainly in better condition in respect to their masonry than most other Greek remains, yet this might fairly be classed among the *ædes sacræ exustæ* of Diodorus, inasmuch as every combustible portion of it is wholly destroyed. There is so much purity and genuine Greek character throughout this beautiful temple, that I cannot consider it to be the work of any period later than the reduction of Sicily under the Roman power.

It is manifest that, to whatever period we attribute this work, the principle of the arch was still unknown to the builder, for it is not to be supposed that they would have taken the pains to quarry, convey, and lift up so ponderous a block of stone as that which forms the lintel, nor would they have resorted to the singular contrivance here seen for relieving this stone from the pressure of the superincumbent masonry, had they known that with much less cumbrous stones they could have made equally sound work.

The opening in the masonry over this lintel appears to have been intended for the double purpose of relieving it from the weight above and of forming a passage-way through the tympanum or gable, and above the level of the ceiling of the cella.

What the purpose or meaning may be of the two small curves at the top I cannot guess, nor have I ever heard any explanation proposed.

The joints of all this masonry are without cement, and nothing can exceed the beautiful precision of the work; you will not fail to observe the pains taken to preserve uniformity in the vertical joints, without sacrificing too much of the bearing ends of the lintel; this minute attention to the appearance of the joints on the inside surface of the walls of the cella affords a satisfactory, and I think, conclusive proof that there was no painting nor any superficial finishing of any kind to the walls of the cella.

No. 2 shews the masonry of the square-head of one of the adyts of the Emissario to the Lake at Albano. The blocks of stone composing it are of the dark brown tufaceous substance, commonly called peperino; the joints are very close, and apparently without cement; these circumstances, according to the theory of Winckelmann, distinguish works of a date prior to the commencement of the Roman Empire; but I cannot place confidence in the opinion that has attributed this work to a period before the siege of Veii. The evidence that has been adduced leads, I think, *only* to the conclusion that the Lake of Albano had at that time an Emissario, but it is not therefore to be assumed that any part of the present masonry bears that early date. The evidence afforded by the construction of the work strongly corroborates the doubt above expressed. There is here an example of what workmen call a skeme-arch, where, in fact, the principle of the arch is carried out less simply than in arches of ordinary form, and which therefore may be presumed to be rather a subsequent refinement upon a previously known arrangement; but, as there is the best evidence to prove that the arch was unknown in masonry at so early a period as that of the siege of Veii, viz. the fourth century before the Christian era, I would infer the great improbability of the date ascribed by some to this specimen of the straight-arched head.

In the third example we have another variety of the skeme-arch, from the head of the doorway into the building at Ravenna, known as Theodoric's Tomb: the rebate or shoulder in the radiating joints is a singular expedient quite unknown, to the best of my belief, in any work of classic times, although, as I shall shew below, it became somewhat prevalent in the ensuing ages. It seems to indicate a distrust of the principle of the arch; but its inutility will

be readily recognised by any mason of the present day. The commencement of the sixth century may be regarded as the date of this example.

No. 4 presents us with a piece of masonry upwards of a thousand years later than No. 3: it is the straight lintel over the centre doorway at the west end of Rochester cathedral. Here we have another elaborate contrivance shewing but little science on the part of the artificer. The joints appear externally to be exactly vertical, although I presume that, within the surface and out of sight, they radiate like the joints of a skeme-arch; otherwise it is difficult to understand how these stones can support the weight imposed upon them; certainly the excrescences on the sides of the stones by which they are locked into each other, and which in mason's language would be called a *joggle*, have but little effect in keeping them up. The face of these stones is, as you well know, richly carved, each with a separate device; they are irregular in size, the abutment stones being very dissimilar: indeed a great want of correspondence and regularity of structure prevails throughout, not only this doorway, but the whole west front of the edifice in question, and it is difficult to believe that any working drawing could have been prepared for the guidance of the masons in the execution of their work.

This fourth example brings us down to the commencement of the twelfth century, the date which I presume may be confidently assigned to the west front of Rochester cathedral.

For the sketch, No. 5, I am indebted to a friend, who, however, does not vouch for its minute correctness. It is stated to be the representation of the masonry of a chimney opening in an old kitchen at Edgcot, Northamptonshire. Although the capacious opening here shown is not covered by a straight head, as in the preceding cases, the pointed arch which spans it is so nearly flat as to entitle it to our notice on the present occasion. I know not the age of this example, but I presume it to be of the later period of the Pointed style.

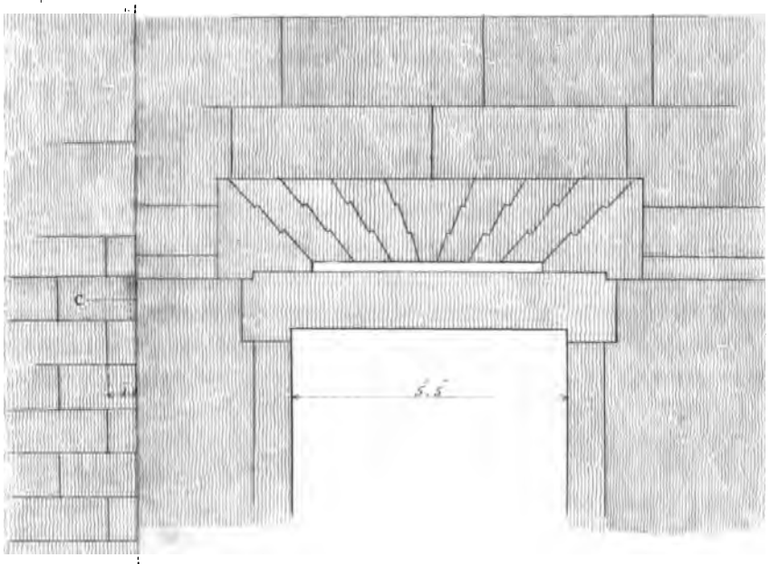
It is worthy of observation that the break or shoulder in the radiating joints is discernible in some semi-circular arches at the Gothic tomb in Ravenna, above referred to; and I have also noticed this singular contrivance in the engraved representations of an old building of the Pointed epoch at Cairo.

The occurrence of the same peculiarity of structure in localities so distant

From th

No. 3.

From the Tomb of Theoderic. Ravenna.



Plan at C D

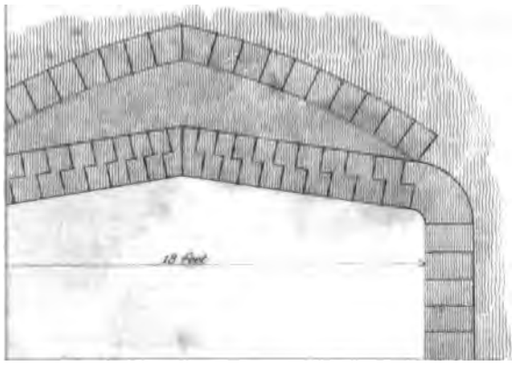


34.

10 0 5 10 feet

No. 5.

ney opening at Edgcot. Northamptonshire.



5 0 10 feet

ad over an Aperture.

Sidney Smirke. Feb. 1838.

J. Basire sc.

from each other, a peculiarity unknown to classic art, and long disused in modern art, is a curious fact, and might perhaps suggest interesting reflections; but I forbear to indulge in any speculations on this subject.

The five examples here brought into juxta-position to shew the efforts of workmen to produce the same effect with the same material, at periods and in places so widely distant, serve to illustrate the condition of the arts at their respective periods.

Nothing can exceed the beautiful precision and masterly execution of the masonry in the first, or Greek, example; its excellence is indeed sufficiently attested by the comparatively complete state of the work, notwithstanding the lapse of more than twenty centuries, the devastation of war, and the still more destructive earthquakes of which Sicily has been the scene. But art was still young, and the progress of mechanical knowledge not great: the arch was unknown, and the Greek mason had no resource but the obvious and inartificial one of forming his straight doorhead with a block of depth and strength enough to bear its burthen, notwithstanding the trouble that necessarily attended the process.

The second, or Roman example, has still much of the excellence that characterises the workmanship of classic times; and indicates moreover, that since the date of the preceding example, a stride had been made in the progress of the science of construction that was destined to effect a total revolution in architectural design, for cuneiform stones are here used to form a flat arch.

The third example, of what may truly be called the Gothic period, strongly marks the decadence of good art; although the masonry is executed with much precision, the rebate or shoulder in the radiating joint is a piece of mistaken construction that would not have been made in better times.

The fourth, or Norman example, and the fifth, of a still later period, illustrate that elaborately artificial manner which, both in design and construction, characterises the mediæval architecture of Europe.

I remain, dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.



APPENDIX.

AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.



APPENDIX.

Eynsford Castle, in the County of Kent.

April 9th, 1835. Extract of a letter from EDWARD CRESY, Esq. to John Gage, Esq. Director, accompanying three Plans of Eynsford Castle, in the county of Kent.

"These interesting ruins are the property of Sir Percival Hart Dyke, Bart. and had long been used as stabling, and kenneling for fox-hounds. Circumstances having occurred to occasion the removal of all the modern erections, on my being professionally employed to effect this object, much presented itself during the demolition to induce an examination of the ancient portion which remained; and the Rev. B. Wenston, Vicar of Farningham, and the Rev. A. W. Burnside, to whom I am indebted for the execution of the accompanying model, obtained permission to examine around the walls of the Keep, which appeared to consist only of one large room, with four loop-holes on its eastern side. By the indefatigable and liberal exertions of these gentlemen, many workmen were directed to remove the earth and rubbish, which had accumulated to a vast heap, and the whole was cleared to the depth of eight or nine feet down to the very footings, when the entire plan, with its winding staircase, another room with a chimney, a necessarium, &c. were discovered, as shewn in the accompanying sketches.

"This Castle, situated in a narrow winding valley, formed by the passage of the Darent through the chain of chalk hills, which rise to a considerable height on each side, was well calculated to defend and command the passage across the river hereafter referred to; which passage was, in all probability, the work of the Romans at the time they occupied the camps of Keston (or Noviomagus) and South Fleet (Vagnaca), for it is in the direct line between these two stations, as Otford is between Noviomagus and Oldbury, which summer camp is on the route to Madus, or Maidstone. At Lullingstone, a short distance from this ford, a tesselated pavement was discovered, and Roman coins are constantly found in the neighbourhood. This valley formed a portion

of that called by the Saxons Holmsdale, which extended into Surrey, and was bounded on the north by the chalk hills, which run in a parallel line, about twenty miles south of the Thames; and through it a chain of castles may be traced, ruins of which remain at Guildford, Betchworth, Reigate, Otford, Shoreham, and Eynesford; and to the sense of security engendered by these strong holds, may perhaps be attributed the distich, still remembered:

'Holmsdale
Was never conquered, nor never shall.'

"Many writers have attributed their foundation to Alfred, and their object the protection of this fertile and beautiful tract of country against the incursions of the Danes, to which it would be exposed from the facility of navigating the Darent, afforded by its communication with the Thames.

"At this period, the former river appears to have been crossed by three principal fords, viz. Tarentford (Dartford), Anglesford (Eynsford), and Otford. Anglesford or Eynesford, so named, as Lambard says, from its being the Englishmen's ford, is between the other two, distant from Dartford seven, and from Otford about four miles.

"On the north side of the Castle, and only across the moat, is still to be seen the remains of the causeway which conducted to this ancient ford. It has its commencement near the high road from Farningham to Otford, and continues without interruption through the orchards and gardens for a considerable length, until it arrives within a short distance of the margin of the river; it is nearly level at the top, and about thirty feet in width, on the north side; its facing, of well-constructed flint wall, is seen rising in some places five feet above the level of the ground over which it passes.

"Previously to the river being embanked, the whole of the low grounds were undoubtedly under deep water, and the simplest method of crossing such a lake would be by the means we find carried into effect here; the quantity of water passing is not considerable, and a narrow opening in the causeway would be sufficient for its passage, over which may have been thrown some moveable or temporary bridge. On the western side the hill rises rapidly, and there would be no need of a causeway. From thence the Roman road probably continued by Lullingstone, Chelsfield, and Green-street, to the station Noviomagus (on Holwood hill, Keston).

"That Eynsford was in the possession of a Saxon nobleman of the name of Leofric, we learn from the Textus Roffensis, in which is the account of a dispute between him and the churches of Canterbury and Rochester, finally adjusted by Dunstan in a full court held at Crayford. Some time afterwards, the manorial rights were enjoyed by a family of some note, who, according to Philipott, took their name from this place. During the reign of Henry the Second, Archbishop Becket, who resided at Otford castle, had a dispute with William de Eynesford about the presentation to the church of this

parish, and which it has been asserted was the ground of the last quarrel between the Primate and the King. After Becket's martyrdom, the popular feeling was so roused against all the enemies of the Archbishop, that the holder of these estates, among others, was excommunicated, and their castles left, from superstitious feeling, untenanted, and suffered to fall into decay. The subject of our inquiry appears to have been so neglected, and to date its ruin from that period; as we have no account, not even a tradition, of its having been inhabited since.

"The outer or curtain wall, unquestionably one of the most perfect specimens remaining in this country, is an irregular polygonal oval, or horse-shoe, formed of twenty unequal sides, the entire girth of which is about 520 feet.[a] One of the peculiar characteristics of this external wall is its not having, as was common to Norman fortresses, any small tower or buttresses, where the sides unite; or any loop-holes, or openings for the discharge of missiles. Its original height, nearly throughout, is preserved, which, from the level of the meadows to the passage or walk upon the top, three feet wide, is thirty feet. Eight feet from the level of the ground externally, the wall is battered or tumbled in, about eight inches above which, up to the walk around, its thickness is uniformly five feet four inches; the wall of the battlement remains in some places, and near the opening afterwards described as the original entrance, may be distinctly traced. The apertures or openings on this outer wall are few, and exhibit in their construction Roman tiles. The two at the south end have the character of having been used as sally-ports; they are much broken away, but their sides in part are covered with rough stucco. The small circular hole served only as a drain or outlet for the water which fell into the court-yard.

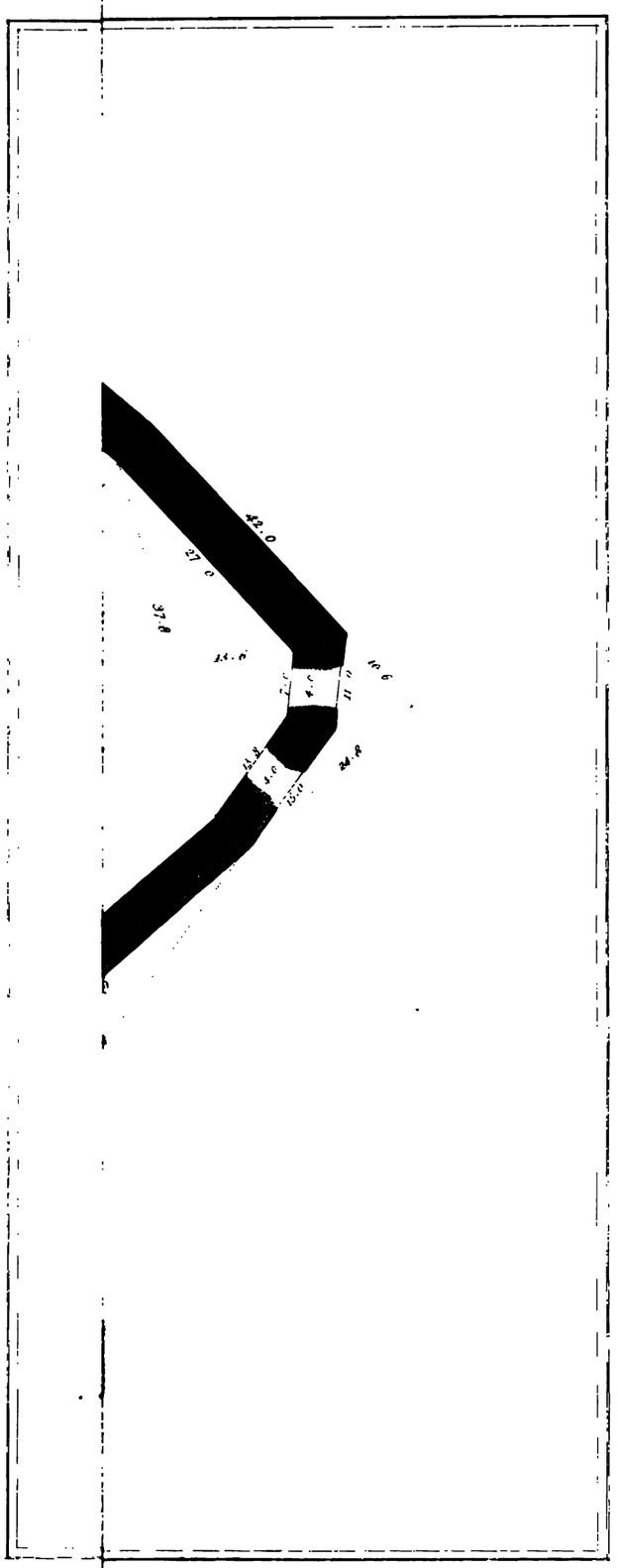
"The principal opening, and which has every appearance of having been one of the original entrances to the castle, is on the north side, and in a very perfect state, situated about 25 feet above the level of the present ground on the outside. The wall here, as in one other division on the south side, is made of an extra thickness, as if to contain some arrangements not required in other portions of it. The opening, or doorway, is three feet wide, and six feet high; and externally the corbel stones remain, which supported a timber platform or landing-place, from whence a ladder was dropped, to enable any one to mount and get admission within. On passing this doorway, you arrive at a small chamber, hollowed out of the wall, six feet long, and four feet six inches wide; on one side of which is a small hole or recess, covered with two courses of Roman tiles,

[a] At Fontainbleau the court-yard of the palace called the Donjon is of this shape exactly, having its present entrance in the long flat side. The period of its construction is said to be that of the Merovingian Kings. The regular shape of the horse-shoe might suggest, to one unacquainted with geometry, an idea for the outline of a castle, to be erected in a situation not affected by local circumstances.

and which seems to have served as a lodgement to a stout wooden beam, that secured the door when shut. This chamber is six feet high, and vaulted semi-circularly; the whole has been covered with rough stucco.

"The pavement or floor is about six feet below the walk around the outer wall, and must nearly, if not quite, have corresponded with the level of the first floor of the Keep, to which it was no doubt attached, or had some communication with it; the walls by which this was effected are broken away, though their direction may be traced, inclining towards the north angle of the Keep, but the precise manner in which the juncture was effected must be left to conjecture. This small chamber commands a fine view of the valley towards Farningham, as well as of the whole of the causeway, which is within bow-shot of any one stationed here to overlook or guard the passage across the river. Another opening occurs at the back of the Keep, on the outer wall, in all respects corresponding in level and dimensions with those already described at the southern angle, and has been used in modern times to draw water from a well, constructed since the river has been diverted to a more westerly course. On the south side, and where the present entrance to the court-yard is formed, the wall has the same thickness as that containing the doorway and chamber above described. Thorpe in his Custumale Roffense states, that there formerly existed here a draw-bridge and gateway, but upon no authority; for on excavating two trenches here, it was discovered that the curtain wall continued through the present breach, without any aperture, and was quite perfect. The original level of the yard internally being considerably below this wall, it does not seem probable that it was ever perforated by an entrance level with it as conjectured. The entrance or breach which exists, was in all probability made when the site was used at first as stables, as some brickwork was demolished a few years back, said not to be of an age earlier than Henry the Eighth.

"The Keep is a parallelogram in its plan, its outer walls being five feet in thickness, strengthened by five buttresses of unequal projection; those on the north side advance two feet six inches from the face of the work. The most eastern of these buttresses might indicate the position of the fire-places in the upper rooms, or above the curtain wall a look-out chamber might have been hollowed out of it, which would have a view over the causeway and ford. The buttress on the west side projects only eighteen inches; and adjoining to this, though not bonded into the wall, is another mass, seven feet nine inches long, and three feet eight inches in projection, which appears not to be part of the original work. At the south-west angle a buttress of the same length, and of two feet projection, serves to strengthen that part of the building. The proportions of the two rooms are dissimilar, one being considerably more than double the size of the other. The clear width of the Keep is 29 feet 3 inches, or exactly half its entire length, (39 feet 3 inches + 19 feet 3 inches) which does not seem the effect of accident; and it



Measured Oct[illegible] J.[illegible] Basire sc.

ral excavations

may be observed, that in most of the buildings constructed during the middle ages, these general proportions were invariably attended to. On removing the earth, the footings of the walls were arrived at, which are about five feet above the present level of the ground outside the curtain wall, or 19 feet 6 inches below the floor of the chamber on the north side, described as the probable entrance to the castle.

"The walls are constructed with flints, with the occasional introduction of tiles: and the whole has the appearance of having been carried up on caissoons, with mortar composed of coarse sand and lime, well grouted as the work went on. The surrounding country abounds with flint; the quantity, however, required for the outer wall alone, which contains upwards of 300 rods of reduced work, could not have been collected without vast labour. The Keep and other buildings would require more than a similar quantity.

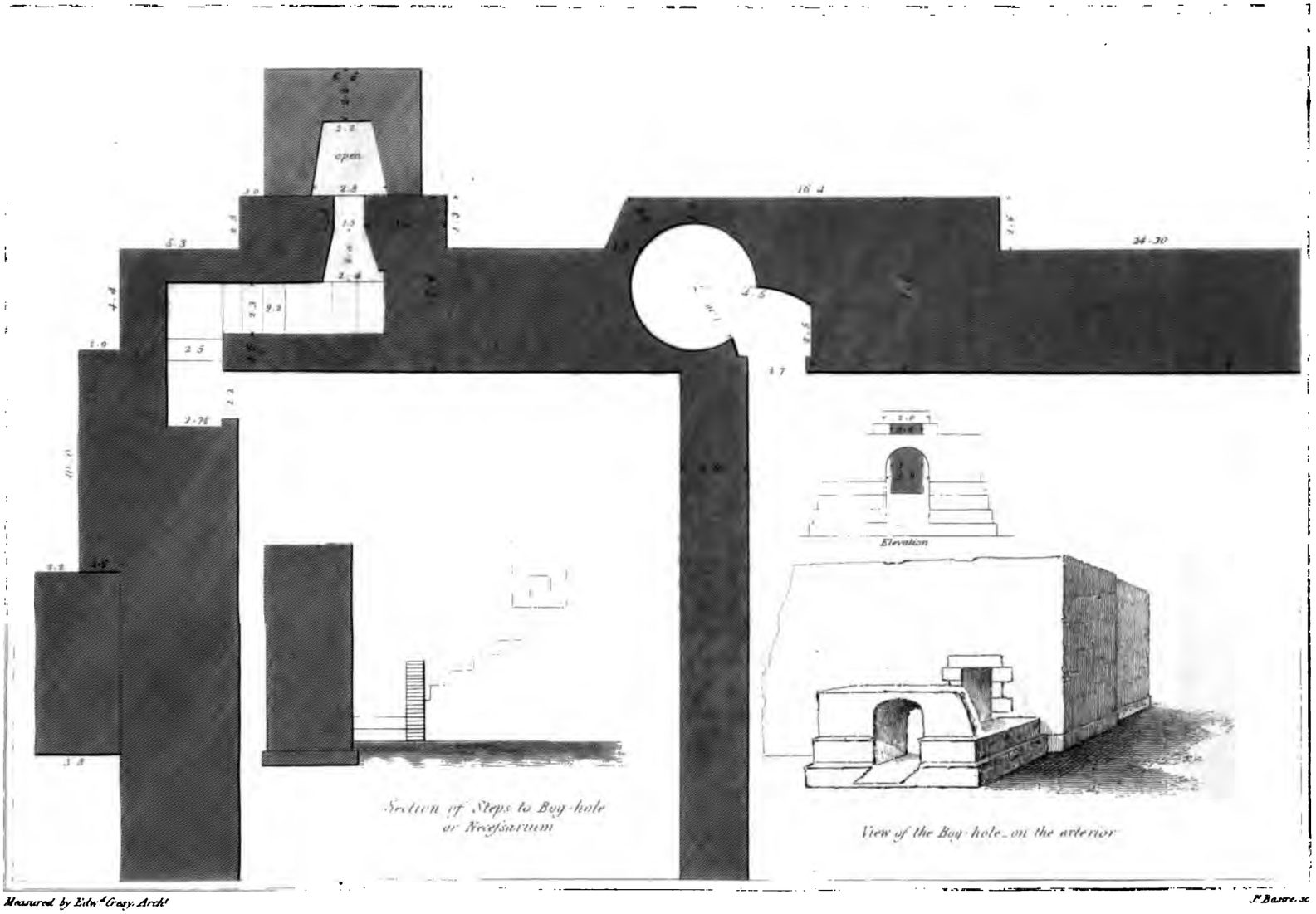
"On removing the ground on the south side of the Keep, the walls in advance of the entrance doorway or portal were exhibited; but as they are not bonded or united with the main tower, it is reasonable to suppose they were after-constructions. They bore a resemblance to one entire mass of concrete, with the exception of the small room adjoining the portal supposed to be a guard-chamber, and a passage parallel and close to the Keep, on a line with the door which enters the room where the guard were stationed. The right jamb of this door, which at the height of the shoulder is much worn, is of Reigate stone as well as the other, where the hooks remain upon which the door turned. The precise way which led to the chief portal has not been decided; it might have been by a straight passage as described, or by a more tortuous one practised in the mass of concrete in face of it.

"The portal is not in the middle, and externally its width is six feet six inches. The wall being destroyed at about eight feet from the foundation, its arch or lintel has left no trace. The sill is two feet above the level of the floor, and you could not have entered without descending by two or more steps. The right jamb is of Reigate stone, built at the time the guard-room was constructed; the other jamb is original, and formed with tiles. Behind the reveal on which the door shut, is a small hole six inches square, which slants upwards through the thickness of the wall, until it again shews itself above the loop-hole on the south side. There are in the curtain wall many of these funnels, probably contrived and used for the purpose of holding a conversation with, or alarming the centinels stationed near them. On entering the Keep, the principal room is 39 feet 3 inches by 29 feet 3 inches, and there is not the slightest indication of its ever having been arched or vaulted over; indeed the thickness of the walls are not adequate to the thrust of an arch of so great a span, unless aided in its resistance by a mound of earth, which this Keep never had, or some other counterfort. In

general we find, where vaults are practised, that half their span given to the thickness of their abutting walls, which in this case must have been fourteen instead of five feet.

"The only light admitted to this room was by the four narrow loop-holes on the east, and one on the south side, only six inches wide, and not more than 2 feet 3 inches high. At its north angle a doorway, 2 feet 7 inches wide, conducts to a well hole, 5 feet 8 inches diameter, where once was a winding staircase, that served to mount to the upper rooms as well as to the summit of the castle. The tiles with which the jambs of the doorway are built up, are 6¾ inches by 7 inches, and seven courses of them are contained in a foot; they are roughly worked, but well burnt, and of the description usually attributed to Roman manufacture.

"The adjoining room containing the fire-place, and which might serve as the kitchen, was entirely brought to light by the recent excavations; it has no apparent entrance, for the doorway and steps at the northern angle only conducted to a necessarium, most ingeniously contrived in the thickness of the wall. The jambs of this doorway are also formed of tiles, and a staircase 2 feet 3 inches wide continues up to the level of a recess, where are the remains of a drain, passing through the wall into a small cesspool, once arched or covered over with a flat stone. The aperture in the main wall, by which the soil passed, is 2 feet 10 inches in height, and 1 foot 8 inches in width, worked in Reigate stone. The cesspool, or exterior work forming it, concealed this opening, and was not bonded into the wall of the Keep. On mounting the steps from the kitchen, it is plainly perceivable that they terminated at the recess, and were only used for the purposes described, for the wall is closed at their extremity, which would not have been the case had the steps continued. How the kitchen was entered, except by an aperture in the floor above, cannot be imagined; it was not unusual to communicate in this manner. To make it difficult to arrive at the inner rooms of the Keep, seems one of the objects most aimed at in their arrangements. On the south side of the kitchen are the remains of the fire-place, which is built up with Roman tiles, and has every evidence of being constructed with the walls it is recessed in; its opening is 5 feet 6 inches, and depth 2 feet 10 inches; the back, forming a segment of a circle, is plastered, and so discoloured with the soot that there can be no doubt of its appropriation. Near the hearth were found many bones of a hog or some other animal. The flue could not be traced, nor could the breast be distinctly made out; the walls here being broken off about where the mantle would have occurred; in all probability the flue inclined in an outward direction, and terminated as the flues do at Rochester castle, not continuing to the top of the battlements. On one side of the chimney is a loop-hole, that would serve to overlook the entrance or passage that was in a line with the

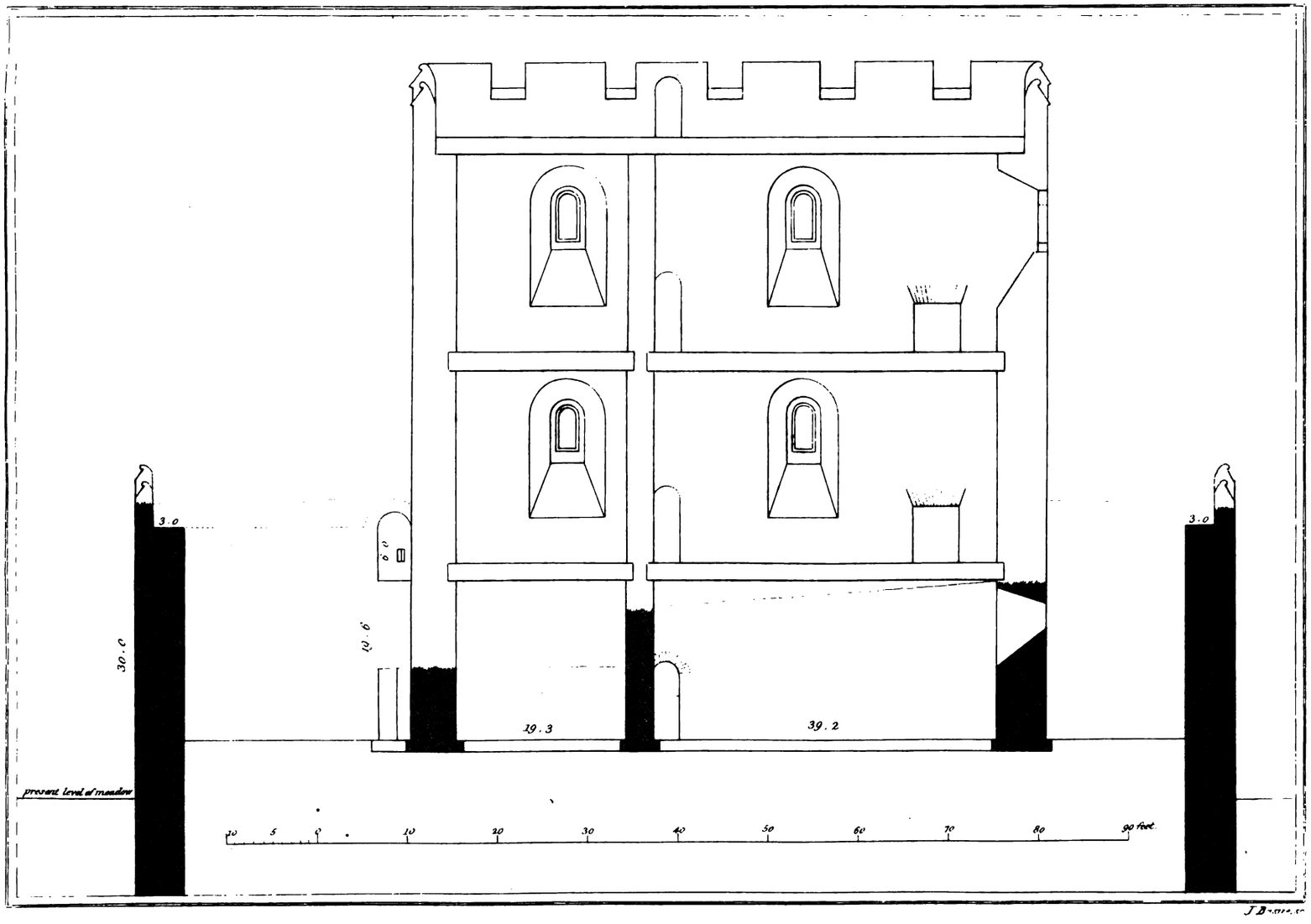


Measured by Edw.d Gray. Archt

P.t Basire. sc

Eynesford Castle.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23.rd 1838



Eynesford Castle. Kent. (restored.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 25th 1838.

door of the guard-room, and which has been suggested as the way to arrive at the chief portal. Through this loop-hole, all the light the kitchen received was admitted, except what it derived from the fire. Neither of the rooms exhibit any remains of a pavement; and from the door of the spiral staircase, as well as that conducting to the necessarium, being set off on the footings, no doubt can be entertained that their top was the level of the floor of the lower rooms of the Keep.

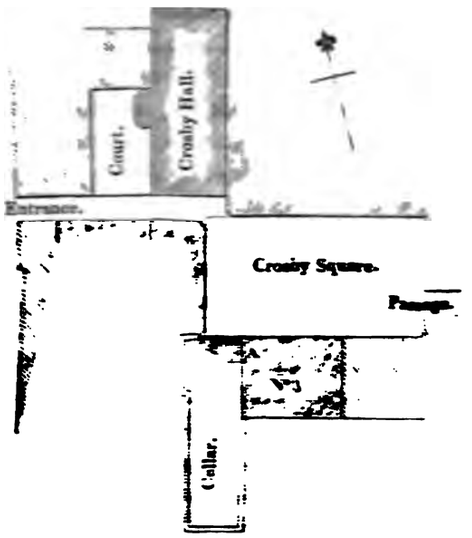
"The height of the Keep, in its original state, equalled probably its extreme length, and consisted of two stories in addition to the ground-floor. Its general character, its entrance, as well as some other of its arrangements, must have borne a strong resemblance to that erected by Gundulph at Rochester, though upon a much smaller scale; towering above its curtain wall, and presenting its battlements seventy feet from its base, a warder, on its summit, might have obtained a view of a considerable portion of the valley through which the Darent winds. The position of this Keep, at one extremity of its court-yard, was that usually adopted; by such a position a larger area was obtained for the exercise of the retainers, and more difficulty was produced to assemble a body of besiegers around the walls, nor could a battering ram be applied in the confined space between them and the curtain, which was distant but a few feet from it."

Roman Pavement at Bishopsgate.

14th April 1836. Alfred Burgess, Esq. of Great George Street, exhibited, through Sir Henry Ellis, a small portion of a Roman Pavement discovered by some labourers during the previous month, while digging for a drain in the basement of a house, No. 3, in Crosby Square, Bishopsgate.

"The extent of the pavement was not very satisfactorily ascertained; the width of what was found did not exceed five feet, the depth to its surface was about thirteen feet from the foot-paving in the square, it being nearly upon the same level with the cellar floor of the adjoining building: which cellar is supposed to have formed part of the mansion erected upon this same site by Sir John Crosby in the fifteenth century.

"The accompanying sketch shows the situation in which the pavement was discovered:



A. Place where the Pavement was found.

" The pavement closely abutted upon the side wall of the cellar, which upon being cut through for the purpose of continuing the drain, was found to consist of rubble, stone, and chalk, strongly cemented together, and appeared very ancient. The surface was found covered with a thick coat of dirt, no doubt occasioned by the damp and the rubbish lying upon it; this alone caused a considerable portion of it to be damaged before it was discovered to be pavement, and even then great difficulty was found in raising it in pieces of any size. The moisture and damp of the ground having perished the bed of mortar into which the stones had been set, the greater part crumbled into pieces upon the slightest touch; so much so, that but one other piece of any size besides the fragment exhibited was obtained, which is now in the possession of Mr. Willis, upon whose premises it was found.

" The formation of the pavement was nearly as follows: a bed of hard ground, about two feet thick, was first formed, upon which a layer of coarse rough mortar was spread, varying from three to five inches in thickness, formed of lime, sand, small stones, and pounded brick; being the usual ingredients made use of by the Romans where strength only was considered. This cement was good, but not quite so hard as some mortar occasionally to be met with in old buildings.

" The mortar in which the stones were imbedded was of a finer description than the first, being composed of lime with a small proportion of sand.

"The pavement had been of a scroll pattern, with a border round the margin; the colours used appeared to be red, yellow, white, and black, the two first evidently of brick, and the other two of stone. From the smooth and even surface of the pavement there could be no doubt that after it had been laid and the mortar sufficiently hardened, the irregularities of its surface were first worked off, and the whole rubbed to a fair face, a work of great labour, particularly as the black and white are of considerable hardness; neither is it improbable that it once had a polish.

"The site of Crosby Square was at one time attached to the priory of St. Helen's, and afterwards occupied by the mansion of Sir John Crosby, already mentioned, of which the only remains are the splendid hall, and some vaults now attached to the adjoining houses.

"By the discovery of this pavement we are led to suppose that upon this very spot a building, perhaps a forum, was erected by the Romans during the time they were masters of this country, of which this beautiful specimen of their taste and workmanship formed the floor; thus adding another link in the chain of presumptive evidence of the extent and number of the buildings in Roman London."

Human Skeleton found at Arentsburgh, near the Hague.

28th April 1836. Dr. Conrad Leemans, first Conservator of the Museum at Leyden, presented to the Society the plaster Cast of a human Skeleton, found in 1828 at Arentsburgh, near the Hague, accompanied by the following particulars relating to, and illustrative of the discovery.

"By the archæological researches made at the expense of the Dutch Government, under the direction of the late Professor Reuvens, from 1827—1830, it has been ascertained that the remains of Roman buildings, found at Arentsburgh, belong to the place which in the Tabula Peutingeriana is called *Forum Hadriani.*

"The Roman ornaments found upon the body seem to prove, that, if it did not belong to an individual of that nation, it can at all events be of no later period than shortly after the time in which the Romans were in possession of that part of Holland under Constantine.

"These ornaments consisted, in the first place, of three fibulæ of bronze; one about the neck, the second near to the left shoulder, the third under the left breast. Only one of them was attached to the bones. The two others fell in pieces, as soon as

the body was exposed to the influence of the air. Bracelets of very bad silver ornamented the lower parts of the arms.

"It is a remarkable circumstance that the body was buried amidst the buildings, southward from the remains of a hypocaust, and to the north of an edifice which, according to the form and the thickness of the foundations, and different fragments of inscriptions, might have been a temple.

"Though, with the exception of a small part of a cranium found at a distance of about two hundred paces, no other remains of human bodies have been discovered during these researches, yet it does not appear probable that the body found at Arentsburgh was buried there by chance: because first, it was found at the depth of about three feet beneath the surface, lying with the head to the east, and facing the west; Secondly, because the head and the elbows rested upon stones, evidently with the purpose of preserving those parts from sinking too deeply in the ground, or from the pressure of the earth thrown upon the body; and thirdly, because the position of the arms, lying upon the breast, renders it probable that they had been involved in the folds of the tunica, and likewise that in burying the dead particular care was taken.

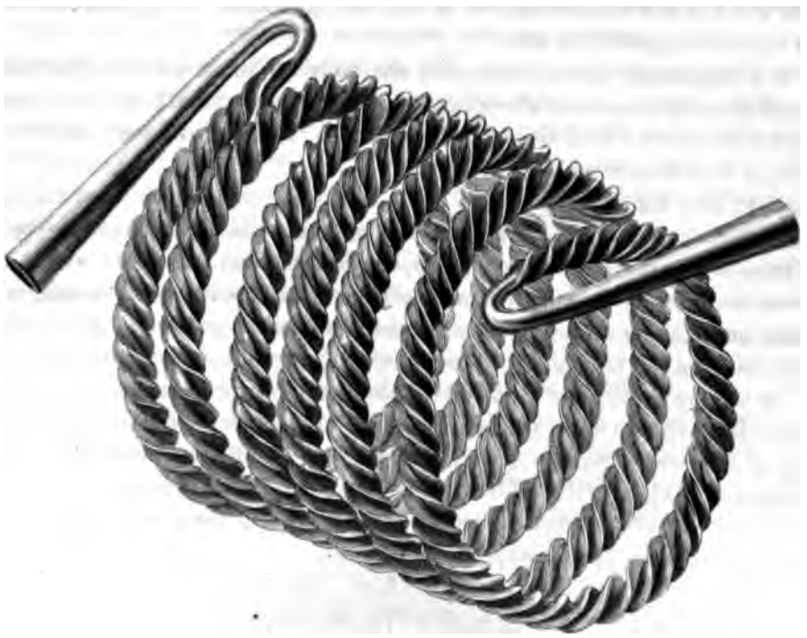
"The lower part of the Skeleton had been destroyed by the protrusion of the roots of a tree, planted close upon the spot."

Bell found in the Bog of Glenade, county of Leitrim.

28th April 1836. Viscount Cole exhibited to the Society a square Bell, about te inches high, found in the Bog of Glenade, in the parish of Kinlough, in the county of Leitrim; together with several bronze ornaments found in the bogs in Ireland, apparently Bosses of shields.

Gold Bracelets found near Egerton Hall, Cheshire.

28th April 1836. Sir Philip Malpas de Grey Egerton, Bart. exhibited to the Society two Gold Bracelets found near Egerton Hall, Cheshire, in digging for the foundation of a cottage in 1831. Both were of the pattern here engraved:



Seal of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham.

5th May 1836. Mr. DOUBLEDAY exhibited to the Society, by the hands of Sir Henry Ellis, a Cast from the Seal of Richard de Bury, or Aungervile, Bishop of Durham, which, as a specimen of art, is of great interest. The whole-length figure of the Bishop upon it is elaborately finished, and appears to have been intended for a portrait. The canopy of Gothic tracery, beneath which the figure stands, is in the richest style of the reign of Edward the Third. The inscription round, is S. RICARDI . DEI . GR'A . DVNELMENSIS. EP'I.

A short account of Bishop Richard de Bury has already been printed in the tenth volume of the Archæologia (p. 259). He was a native of the town of Bury St. Edmund, in Suffolk, where he was born in 1281. After various minor preferments and employments, King Edward the Third made him Bishop of Durham in 1333, Lord Chancellor of England in 1334, and in 1336 Treasurer of England; he died in 1345. Upon each side of the canopy on this Seal, beneath which the Bishop stands, are the arms of Eng-

land, evidently indicating that the Seal itself was made after he became possessed of one or other of the two great offices last mentioned, and thus fixing the precise date of this very elaborate specimen of art. The original is preserved among the archives of the Cathedral Church of Durham, and has never yet been engraved.

Bishop Richard de Bury had no fewer than four seals, all of silver, as appears by the following very curious entry among the Durham Wills and Inventories published by the Surtees Society, vol. i. p. 26:

"Post mortem Ricardi Byry Episcopi fracta fuerunt iiij Sigilla ejusdem, et Sancto Cuthberto oblata; ex quibus Ricardus de Wolveston Feretrarius fecit unum calicem argenteum et deauratum, qui est ad altare Sancti Johannis Baptistæ in orientali parte Ecclesiæ: sub cujus calicis pede sculpti sunt hi duo versus subscripti:

"Hic ciphus insignis fit Presulis ex tetra signis
Ri. Dunolmensis quarti, natu Byriensis."



Roman Sepulchral Urn found in Whitechapel.

12th May 1836. The following letter from ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. to Sir Henry Ellis, was laid before the Society, accompanied by the exhibition of a Roman Urn:

" DEAR SIR, New Kent Road, May 11, 1836.

" By the kindness of Messrs. Hardwick and Norton, Magistrates of Lambeth Street, I have lately had the opportunity of inspecting a Roman sepulchral deposit of some interest found on the west side of the highway at Whitechapel, nearly opposite Red Lion Street. It consisted of an urn filled with calcined human bones, inclosed within another Urn, spherical in form and of large dimensions, being five feet and a half in circumference. With these were found the fragments of an unguentary vessel, ornamented with a pattern of running tracery grotesquely interwoven with animal forms; the portion of the above vessel, now exhibited, bears the figure of a running hind, whose limbs are delicately drawn out and lost in the stems of the foliage. The whole lay at the depth of seven feet from the surface of the present road. Remains, not so considerable, of another deposit of the same kind, appeared at a short distance from the above.

" This placing of *one urn within another* precisely corresponds with the arrangement of some of the urns from the Deveril Street cemetery, represented in the recently published volume of our Archaeologia, p. 470 (as was intimated in a postscript attached to my communication there printed.[a])

"There is no doubt but, as the urns at the last mentioned site were placed in connexion with the Watling Street, so these at Whitechapel were deposited, at the time of interment, by the side of the great Roman way, which, making its exit from Londinium at Aldgate, ran eastward through the ICENIAN *Camalodunum* to *Venta Icenorum*, Caistor, near Norwich; the course nearly according with the ninth Iter of Antoninus.

" Bergier in his ' Histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain,' in citing the well-known law of the twelve tables, ' Hominem in urbe ne sepelito neve urito,' seems to hint that the injunction was confined to the city of Rome, until the time of Hadrian, who extended it to every city in the Roman Empire, ' ne sanctum municipiorum jus polluatur,' for that superstition of the Greeks had descended to the Romans, that the town was defiled and polluted in which dead bodies should remain. The Greeks themselves had perhaps borrowed the notion from the Egyptians, whose cities for their dead, are, to this day, evidence of the population and importance of those which once existed for the living.

" The sepulchres for the dead in the Roman times were arranged by the side of the highways, to keep them in the memory of the survivors; and this purpose is neatly and

[a] See also hereafter, p. 412.

distinctly declared in the inscription on an ancient tomb, erected to one Lollius, and cited by Bergier, which declares that he was buried by the way side, in order that passengers might salute him with their valedictions, as they passed onward on the road:

"'T. Lollius, T. Lollii masculus, &c. Hic *propter viam* positus, ut dicant prætereuntes—*Lolli, Vale!*'

"I remain, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

"ALFRED J. KEMPE."

Map of the Roman Roads upon the Yorkshire Wolds.

9th June 1836. JOHN WALKER, Esq., of Malton, presented to the Society a drawn Map of the Roman Roads and other ancient remains (many presumed to be British) on the Yorkshire Wolds and Northern Moors. See Plate XXXI.

It will be seen that Roman milestones remain at Filey, Rudstone Parva, and Carnaby, all on the sea-coast. There is another at Danby Beacon on the Moors near Whitby.

An erect rough stone Pillar remains at Great Rudston, near the church. At Hovingham, near Malton, a Roman Pavement, a Bath, and Coins have been discovered. At Ness, near Hovingham, a sarcophagus, now lost, was inscribed:

TITIA PINTA . VIX. ANN. XXXVIII
ET VAL. &c.

At Kirkby Misperton an ancient Obelisk was found laid upon the ground, which on repairing the church was broken by the workmen and placed in the north wall, where some fragments and letters appear, but without any meaning which can be made out. The Rev. Dr. Blomberg, Residentiary at St. Paul's, has erected another pillar in its place to the honour of King George IV.

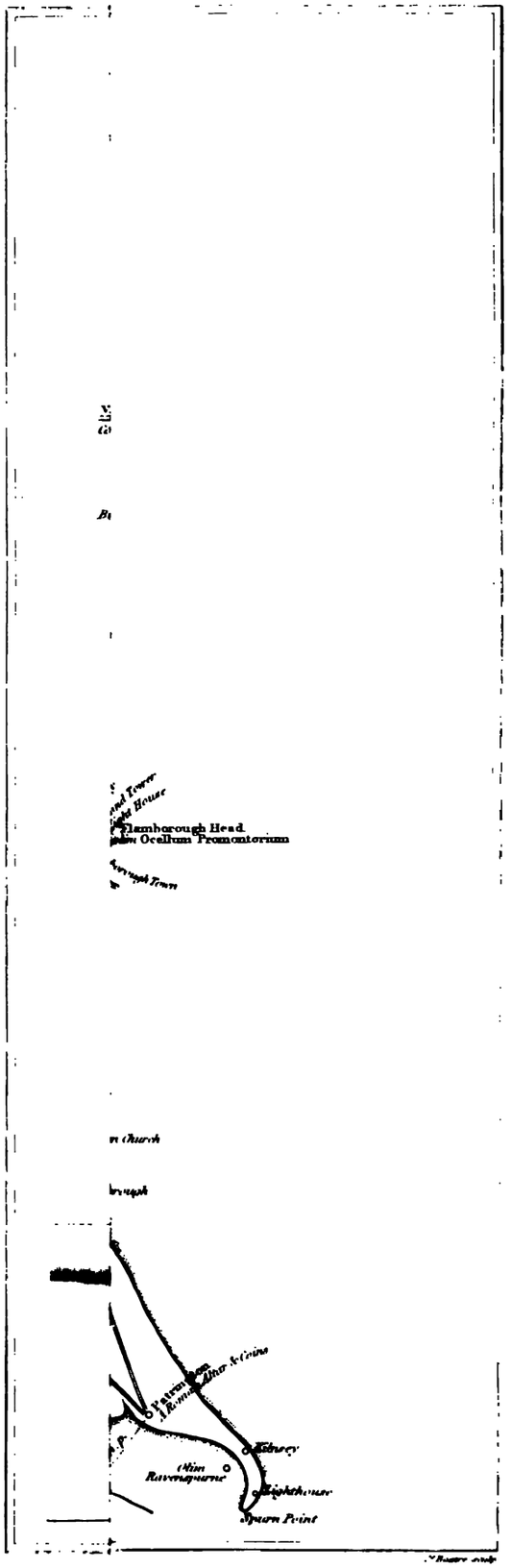
At Mosley Bank, only one mile from Malton, a Roman Pavement, Urns, and Coins, have been discovered.

At Patrington, the Roman Prætorium of the Itinera on the Humber, a Roman Altar and Coins were found near the church.

The Tumuli in Danesdale are called Danes' graves.

The site of British huts on the plan is marked as ascertained by circular hollows, showing remains of the effects of fire in the centre of many of them.

The Track-ways or Roads of the Brigantes and Romans on the Yorkshire Wolds have been generally on the natural ground. The very thin covering of soil in that chalk region did not require throwing up to form a road when uninclosed, the direction being marked by Tumuli.


Flamborough Head
Ocellum Promontorium
Church
Lighthouse
Spurn Point

Earliest Specimens of Mezzotinto Engraving.

8th Dec. 1836. The following letter from HUGH W. DIAMOND, Esq. F.S.A. to Sir Henry Ellis, was read, accompanying a short Catalogue of all the earliest specimens known of Mezzotinto Engraving, collected by himself; the whole of which have been since purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum:

"DEAR SIR, In the last session I had the honour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries, several remarkable specimens of early Mezzotinto Engraving; which prove beyond doubt that the generally received opinion as to Prince Rupert being the inventor of that style of engraving is erroneous. From the examples then exhibited, it appears that the person to whom the merit of the invention is due, is Louis von Siegen (or *L. à* Siegen), a Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The works of this amateur artist are of considerable rarity; and it is not improbable that they were merely distributed among his friends and patrons. Baron Heineken in his 'Idée Générale d'une Collection complette d'Estampes,' printed at Leipsic in 1771, says decidedly that Siegen was the inventor of Mezzotinto engraving, and observes that the first specimen which appeared was the portrait of the Princess Amelia, Landgravine of Hesse; he adds, that Prince Rupert learnt the art from Siegen, and that eventually it became public. In the new edition of Granger's Biographical History of England we find some observations on the invention of this style of engraving: 'It should not be forgotten that Sir Christopher Wren is said to have been the inventor of Mezzotinto; it is certain there is a Blackamoor's head by him in a different manner to that of Prince Rupert: also, Vertue, in a manuscript in my possession, mentions a large head *something like Mezzotint*, of the Princess Amelia of Hesse, thus inscribed: 'ad vivum a se primùm depictam, novoque jam sculpturæ modo expressam, dicat consecratque L. à S. anno 1643.' Mr. Wanley says there is one of this lady in Lord Harley's collection of heads, also one of the Comes of Hesse by the same hand, who was the person who taught Prince Rupert.' Mr. Lodge, in his life of that Prince contained in his Portraits of Illustrious Persons, after mentioning the Prince's contributions to science, and various discoveries, says; 'But the discovery which we find most frequently associated with his name, is of the art of engraving in Mezzotinto, the first hint of which is said to have occurred to him from observing the effect accidentally produced by a soldier scraping some rust off the barrel of his musquet: his right, however, to the strict reputation of inventor has been somewhat questioned, *but with little probability.*'

"It will be seen by this that Heineken's authority is doubted; but Mr. Strutt, in his Biographical Dictionary of Engravers, although more cautious, is nevertheless in doubt on the subject; for he says, after noticing the story of Prince Rupert's observing the soldier scrape the rust from his musquet:—'If the account, as given by Baron Heineken,

be allowed as authentic, and it bears every appearance of being true, especially *if such a portrait really exists*, then the probability of the first story is entirely destroyed. I must leave the reader, however, to decide, having given him all the information I could obtain on the subject.'

"Now, from the extracts given, it is evident that neither Strutt, Bryan, Granger, or Noble have ever seen the engravings in question; and it is a remarkable fact, that not one of them is to be found in the fine collection of the British Museum. The example I have now the pleasure of exhibiting, is a portrait of the eldest daughter of Charles the First, inscribed: 'AUGUSTA MARIA CAROLI: M: B: REG: FILIA. PRINC: AUR. SPONSA.' and is of great rarity; one other only being known in England; namely, that in the collection of Mrs. Sutherland; which is, however, I am informed, very much injured.

"The present portrait, as a work of art, is curious from its combining two distinct styles of engraving; the figure being entirely Mezzotinto, and the back-ground in line and 'cross-hatched.' The likeness is highly interesting from the strong resemblance which it bears to the Stuart family, especially to Charles the Second, and his brother Frederick Duke of Glocester. Near the base of the picture in the right-hand corner are the words, 'Honthorst pinxit, L. à Siegen inv.[enit] et fecit;' and it is worthy of observation, that the word *Inventor* is generally found on the works of Siegen. On the Holy Family engraved by him after Caracci, and dedicated to Cardinal Mazarin, is the following remarkable inscription: 'Eminentissimo Domino D. Julio Mazarini S. R. E. Cardinali, &c. Novi hujus Sculpturæ modi *primus inventor* Ludovicus a Siegen humilissime offert, dicat et consecrat, Aº. 1657.'

"Huber, the compiler of Winckler's Catalogue, tells us that Theodore Caspar de Fürstenbergh, a Capitulary Canon of Mayence, was an engraver in Mezzotinto; that his works are cotemporary with those of Siegen, and expresses a doubt as to which was the disciple of the other; adding, if Fürstenbergh learnt the art of Siegen, he excelled his master. But there is no evidence whatever to warrant this doubt; on the contrary, the portrait of the Queen of Bohemia, which I exhibited in February last, bears the date of 1643, while the earliest known specimen of Fürstenbergh is dated 1656. It is only necessary to add that Rupert's earliest effort in Mezzotinto (though etchings of this Prince are earlier, and one is known inscribed Rup. Pr. 1637) is of the year 1658. In conclusion, I subjoin a catalogue of the known works in Mezzotinto of Siegen, Fürstenbergh, and Rupert, as the same has not to my knowledge ever been printed.

"I have the honour to remain, Sir Henry,

"Your obedient and humble servant,

"HUGH W. DIAMOND."

Louis von Seigen (or L. à Seigen), born 1620.

No. 1. The Virgin holding the infant Jesus. In front, on the right of her, is St. John; and behind, St. Joseph holding a book in one hand and a pair of spectacles in the other, after Caracci; with the inscription, "Eminentissimo Principi Domino D. Julio Mazarini S. R. E. Cardinali, etc. Novi hujus Sculpturæ modi *primus* inventor Ludovicus a Siegen humilissime offert, dicat et consecrat." Ao. 1667. (Height 13¼ inches, width 10⅞, without the inscription.)

2. Portrait of the Landgravine of Hesse with this inscription, "Amelia Elisabetha, D. G. Hassiæ Landgravia, etc. Comitissa Hanoviæ Muntzenb. Illustrissimo ac Celssimo Pr. & D'no, D'no Wilhelmo VI. D. G. Hassiæ Landgr. etc. hanc Serenissimæ Matris et Incomparabilis Heroinæ effigiem ad vivum à se primùm depictam novoq' jam Sculpturæ modo expressam, dedicat consecratq' L. à S. A'o D'nj. cIↃ. IↃ.CXLIII. (Height 17 inches, width 12⅝.)

*** This is the portrait spoken of by the Baron Heineken.

3. "Ferdinand III. Rom. Imperator semper Aug. et Boh. Rex." A nearly full-faced portrait, long black hair, and wreath of laurel. Title on a tablet at the bottom, arched at the top, but with corners making the plate square: on the left at the bottom LS and opposite 1654. (Height 16½ inches, width 12¾.)

*** In the collection of the Archduke Charles.

4. Portrait of the Queen of Bohemia, with curled hair, wearing a crown, necklace and pearls, a handsome lace collar over the shoulders. An oval with square corners; in the lower left-hand corner, "G. Hondthorst pinxit Anno," and in opposite the corner, "L. à Siegen inventor fecit 1643." (Height 20¾ inches, width 16½.)

*** Supposed to be a unique print.

5. Portrait of the Prince of Orange, inscribed, "Guilhelmus D. G. Princeps Avriacvs, Comes Nassaviæ etc. MDCXLIIII," in one row of capital letters at the bottom; back-ground is engraved and cross-hatched; near the top "G. Honthorst pinxit. L. à Siegen inventor fecit 1644." (Height 21⅛ with the inscription, width 16½.)

*** Collection of Archduke Charles; companion to the Princess.

6. Portrait of the Princess of Orange, inscribed, "Augusta Maria Caroli M: B: Reg: Filia Guilhelmi Princ. Avr. Sponsa," in one row of capital letters at the bottom; the back-ground is engraved and cross-hatched; in the lower left-hand corner, "Hondthorst pinxit. L. à Siegen Inv(enit) et Fecit." (Height 21 inches with the inscription, width 16¼.)

*** The portrait now exhibited.

7. St. Bruno. A whole-length figure kneeling, turned towards the right. An open book is before him with inscription; in the bottom margin are six verses, "Si natat in mundi aderit;" on the left of the verses, "D'nis suis Patronis et Benefactoribus offert humllme Cartusia Ratisboniensis;" and on the right "In honorem, Sti Brunonis conterranei sui totiusque Cartusianæ ordinis fecit L. à S—gn S. a'o. 1654." (Height 9⅞ inches, margin 1¼, width 7⅜.)

*** Imp. Vienna.

Bartsch describes three Mezzotint engravings by this artist; and also mentions that there is a portrait of Eleonora Gonzaga, wife of Ferdinand the Second, by him; but I cannot obtain any in-

formation respecting this print, and in fact, believe it to be the one I have already described as the Queen of Bohemia (No. 4.)—Anleitungzur Kupperstikunde, von Adam von Bartsch. 8vo. Vienna, 1821.

Theodore Caspar à Fürstenbergh, flourished 1656.

1. Head of St. John the Baptist, large as life, on an oval charger; on the left "Theod. Casp. a. Furstenberg pinxit et sculpsit." (Length 18 inches, height 14⅛.)

*** Imperial Coll. at Vienna.

2. Portrait of the Emperor Leopold, a half-length, in armour, standing: he is turned a little towards the left, and holds a sceptre in his right hand; long black hair, no name or inscription. (Height 19¾ inches, width 15⅝.)

*** Coll. of Archduke Charles.

3. "Fredericus D. G. Marchio Badensis et Hachbergs," &c. three lines of titles. The bust of a round flat-faced man with a large wig, in armour; oval, with corners. (Height 10 inches, width 8½.)

*** Coll. of Archduke Charles.

4. The Daughter of Herod taking the head of St. John from an aged woman, who is holding a candle in her left hand, and presenting the charger with her right, which the young woman receives with an averted head. (Height 7½ inches, width 5⅞.)

5. Portrait of Leopold William Archduke of Austria, &c. in an oval with square corners, the bust surrounded by an inscription of his name and titles. Underneath are the following Latin verses and inscription:

"Mavortem toto spiras, Dux inclyte, vultu
Mars novus; arte nova te celebrare decet.
Sub te Tyro fui; si quid vel Marte vel Arte
Discipulus didici, suscipe: utrumque tuum est.

Theodorus Casparus a Fürstenbergh Canonicus Capitularis Moguntiæ et Spiræ, Colonellus, ad uiuum pinxit, et fecit 1656."

6. A bust of Christ crowned with thorns, and surmounted by the nimbus, the left shoulder bared. Inscribed:

"Hunc sacrum, Leopolde, typum tibi dedico; Regis
est; Sed Cui Spinis plexa Corona riget.
Ex et in his Spinis crescet, Leopolde, Corona
Imperialis, eas quis nisi Cæsar amet?

Seruus Humillimus, Theodorus Casparus a Fürstenbergh fecit."

7. (*Doubtful.*) Virgin and Child after Corregio, seated, and turned to the left; head, in profile, bends over the Infant. At the top, an angel holding reeds or palm branches; in the margin at the bottom, in capitals, "Maria in Ægypti solitudine. Corregi pinxit." (Height 18⅛ inches, width 15⅛.)

*** Dresden.

Rupert, Prince Palatine, born 1619.

1. The Executioner of St. John, with the decollated head in his right hand, and a drawn sword in his left, on which are the letters R. P. surmounted by a crown, date 1658. At the back of the figure the cross and scroll. (Height 25¼ inches, width 17½.)

*** All other impressions known have the following inscription on an entablature at the foot of the picture:

"*Sp.* = *Is.* RVP. P. FECIT. FRANCOFVRTI. AN'O. 1658. M. =. A. P. R."

excepting one impression, which is in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, having only *Sp.* = *Is.* (Spagnoletti invenit) on the entablature, and R. p. *f* 1658 on the sword blade.

2. Portrait of a Magdalen, with clasped hands, looking upwards, long dark hair, inscribed:

"Rupertus D. G. C. P. D. B. Princeps Imperii Animi gratiâ lusit."

In the corner, "M. Merian pinxit." (Height 8⅞ inches, width 6¼.)

3. Portrait, supposed to be the Prince, leaning on the left arm; the head resting on the right hand. Cap and feathers. (Height 8 inches, width 6⅜.)

*** There are copies of this print. I have one by W. Vaillant done in the lifetime of Rupert, and inscribed: "Prins Robbert, vinder van de Swarte Prent Konst," shewing the Prince claimed the invention as soon as he came over into England a second time, as Vaillant was an artist he brought with him.

4. A three-quarters length portrait, generally called "The Standard Bearer," in a slashed cap and feathers; the right hand grasping a standard; the left resting on a shield, on the edge of which is inscribed: "[1]658. Rupt. P: Fec." (Height 11 inches, width 8½.)

5. The same portrait to the shoulders, but something larger, and looking more to the left. (Height 7¼ inches, width 6½.)

6. The bust of an old man with bald head and flowing beard. "R. P." in the left-hand top corner. (5 inches square.)

7. The head of the Executioner of St. John (as No. 1.) in the right-hand top corner,  (Height 5¼ inches, width 6½.)

*** This is the head done for Mr. Evelyn's Sculptura, 8vo. 1662; in which Evelyn gives a chapter, "Of the new way of engraving, or Mezzotinto, *invented* and communicated by his Highnesse Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhyne, &c."—This head has been copied.

8. The same head looking to the *right*. *(Dubious.)*

9. A portrait of Oliver Cromwell, an oval, at the corners, "O. C. P. R. fc."

10. Another portrait of Oliver Cromwell, 8vo. appears unfinished; a portrait turned to the right. *** Bought at Sir Mark Sykes's sale, with No. 9, by Mrs. Sutherland. Now in the Bodleian Library.

11. A Monk in his Cell, with table and book, under a window admitting the light; it is behind the Monk. On the right of him is a chair, inscribed at the top "RVP. Pr. fec." (Length 5⅛ inches, width 4¼.) *** In the collection of the Archduke Charles.

12. A Woman's Head, looking down, in an oval. (Walpole's History of Engravers, p. 75.)

H. W. D.

Fragment of a Roman Column found in London.

8th Dec. 1836. Extract of a letter from A. J. KEMPE, Esq. F.S.A. to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary, illustrative of the fragment of a presumed Roman Column, discovered in the progress of some recent works at Christ's Hospital, London:

"DEAR SIR, New Kent Road, Nov. 23rd, 1836.

"That Roman London was very densely populated, every excavation into its site affords convincing proof; urns, costly Samian vessels, extensive foundations of buildings, tessellated pavements, altars, styli, fibulæ, and coins, from time to time, bear incontestable testimony of its importance in the Romano-British Province.

"Why, then, are the remains of any edifices of a grand and imposing architectural character within its limits so rare, or rather altogether deficient? simply, I conceive, because the builders of the middle age converted all the stones which remained of the larger structures of LONDINIVM (and which for centuries after the departure of the Romans lay scattered over its site,) to their own purposes. The columns which adorned the temples, palaces, public baths, and buildings of the Roman colony were applied to use, and worked up in one form or other in the numerous monastic and ecclesiastical structures which now arose on their ground-plots. The tessellated pavements, with the foundations of private dwellings, being not so readily convertible to these purposes, were alone left to illustrate the topography of London as it existed in the Roman times.

"That such an adaptation of materials had really been the practice of the Saxo-Norman architects, a minute examination of the structures raised by them will fully convince us; and in the absence of any decided architectural features, it is no uncertain proof of the high antiquity of a building of the middle age, that Roman materials have been copiously employed in its construction.

"The testimony of some of the ancient monkish writers is very distinct as to the point referred to. Matthew Paris informs us, in the lives of his three-and-twenty Abbots of St. Alban's, that Ælfric, the eighth of that monastery, was wholly intent on searching the remains of the ancient city of Verulam, and in digging out the old foundations and arches remaining on its site, having determined to pull down and rebuild the mean fabric which then served for the abbey church. His successor in the abbacy, Eadmer, we learn from the same authority, was employed in further accumulating, from the same source, materials for the new church, and amassed from the ruins of Verulam a vast quantity of old Roman materials. He overthrew in this research the remains of a magnificent palace, probably the Prætorium of the station; squared stones, columns and tiles were added to his store; nay, in a recess in one of the ancient walls were found some manuscripts, which are described as of the Roman

age. The historian records that urns, lachrymatories, and (urcei) pitchers were found at the same time in abundance; but these were not in the same request as with the antiquary of the nineteenth century. The original passage of Matthew Paris relative to these discoveries is worthy of citation: 'Invenerunt fossores in fundamentis veterum edificiorum et concavitatibus subterraneis, urceos, et amphoras, opere fictili et tornatili decenter compositas. Vasa quoque vitrea, pulverem mortuorum continentia. Altaria subversa, et idola, et numismatum diversa genera, quibus utebantur.'[a] Every practical explorator of Roman antiquities will attest that the above account wears the stamp of truth. It is every day coincidentally confirmed by the discoveries within the limits of Roman London.

"The preceding observations tend to show the vast quantities of building materials which were left on the abandoned Roman stations; and I have now the pleasure to introduce to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries a very striking specimen of *the adaptation of an antique column, of considerable dimensions, of the Roman age, to Norman ecclesiastical architecture.*

"The relic referred to was found in the progress of the recent works at Christ's Hospital, in a part of the ruins of the Grey Friars' monastery, which formerly stood on the spot. It is a fluted pillar, the original circumference of which must have been at least four and a half or five feet; and it presents an interesting and not inelegant instance of a departure from the regular forms of ancient classic architecture, having been adorned (no doubt at intervals throughout its whole length) with bands of pendent leaves of the *lotus* kind, so that it assimilates in some degree with the Egyptian style. One side of this column has subsequently been worked into a triform cluster of pillars, if I judge correctly, about the time of Henry III. Now it will be recollected that the Franciscans or Friars Minors came into England in the year 1225, nearly about the same time with the Dominican or Preaching Friars, and that on the present site of Christ's Hospital they found an asylum by the liberality of John Edwin, a citizen of London.[b] Here, about 1239, was erected for their use a spacious church, on or near the site, I presume, of some important Roman edifice, whose ruins still encumbered the spot, or were revealed by the slightest excavation. Of this building the column under consideration was probably a member. The Grey Friars church was immediately contiguous to the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand, where, in 1819, when the foundations of the New Post Office were preparing, I myself saw very extensive vestiges of Roman vaultings; and in volume XXIV. of the Society's Archæologia, p. 300, an altar is engraved, bearing the figure of Apollo, which was discovered in erecting the new Goldsmiths'

[a] Matt. Paris in vitâ viginti-trium Abbat. Sci. Albani. edit. Wats.

[b] Stevens's Monasticon, vol. i. p. 111.

Hall in Foster-lane, close by. The Franciscans, it seems probable, took all convertible advantage of the remains of some Roman building in the immediate vicinity of their precinct when they were erecting their new church and offices, as the canons of St. Martin-le-Grand had previously shown them example; for, in a confirmation of their possessions Without Cripplegate, by a charter of King Stephen, they actually obtained a grant of *certain stones* of the *walls of London*, which had fallen down and encumbered the highway, running through their land. The walls which encircled London were probably erected in the third century of the Christian æra, and the lapse of nine hundred years, it appears, had brought them to a state of much dilapidation in the time of King Stephen.[c]

"I am, dear Sir, your very obedient servant,

"ALFRED J. KEMPE."

Cinerary Urn found in Deveril Street, Southwark.

15 Dec. 1836. ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. exhibited a Cinerary Urn of Earthenware, recently discovered in the Dissenters' burial ground in Deveril Street, New Dover Road.

It was of larger dimensions than one exhibited to the Society from the same place, by Mr. Kempe, on a former occasion.[d] The height, 10¼ inches; diameter at the top, 8 inches; at the swell of the body, 9½ inches; at the bottom, 3¾ inches. It was found placed *within a huge outer urn*, which was fractured, but of which some fragments are preserved in the smaller vessel.

The urn exhibited was of an elegant form, and perfect. It may be proper to mention that the Roman *Ustrinum* at Deveril Street was placed within two hundred yards of the line of the Kentish portion of the old Watling Street.

Map of the Roman Road between Staines and Silchester.

2nd Feb. 1837. Sir HENRY ELLIS exhibited to the Society a beautifully executed drawn Plan, which had recently been presented to him by John Narrien, Esq. one of the Professors at the Military College of Sandhurst, of the country between Staines and Silchester, on the line of the Roman road from London to Bath; reduced from a survey made in 1835 by some of the officers who were then students in the senior department

[c] See Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church and Sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand, p. 64.

[d] See Archaeologia, vol. xxvi. p. 470.

of the Royal Military College. Sir Henry Ellis believes that a survey of the line of the Roman road from Silchester to Hungerford has been continued by the exertions of some other officers of the Royal Military College.

Drawings from Ancient Paintings in St. Mary's Chapel at Guildford.

9th Feb. 1837. E. J. Carlos, Esq. exhibited to the Society seven Drawings from ancient Paintings in St. Mary's Church at Guildford in Surrey: some observations upon which, partly by Mr. Carlos and partly by J. G. Nichols, Esq. were read to the Society on Feb. 16th.

St. Mary's Church is an ancient building, the architecture of which is a compound of the Norman and Pointed styles; the former predominant in the detail and ornaments, the latter in the arches and windows of the structure. It consists of a nave and aisles, and a chancel, separated from the nave by a tower, and flanked by two chapels, so that the Church may be described as in two portions: the whole of the eastern part, comprising the chancel and chapels, is raised above the other portion, in consequence of the church being erected upon the slope of a hill. The chapels are likewise each composed of two portions answering to nave and chancel, the latter being semicircular in plan, and separated from the former by an arch.

The southern chapel still contains a screen of oak, which formerly constituted the back of the altar; it retains traces of colour, and a portion of the carving, and is now improperly termed a confessional.

The northern chapel has its chancel, a semicircular portion vaulted in three divisions; the ribs are stone, and the spandrils probably chalk. On the face of the vaulting, and on the spandrils of the arch which divides this portion of the chapel from its nave, are depicted the subjects here described.

The seven subjects first described are depicted upon the soffite of the vault. An oval compartment in the centre bears a representation of the Godhead seated: his right hand raised in the attitude of benediction, the left sustaining a book or table, inscribed with the letters Alpha and Omega.

The remaining subjects are upon the spaces intervening between the ribs of the vault, and occur in the following order, beginning from the south side.

1. Represents Christ passing Judgment. Before him a pardoned man kneeling in prayer, behind whom are two others dragged to judgment by demons.

2. A figure of Christ, before whom is a person placed within a font in a supplicating posture; a third figure is represented drawing water from a river by two buckets.

3. Earthly Judgment, represented in a group of five figures. A king seated, the accuser and witness standing, and a culprit suffering decapitation.

4. Heavenly Judgment. Several good souls represented as received into the bosom

of our Saviour: a bad man condemned to torment, which he is suffering in a tub-like receptacle from a figure armed with a flesh-hook.

5. The Death of the Wicked. A judge standing, holding a wand or rod, a scribe seated at a desk registering the sentence. Two figures extended dead upon the floor: a third drinking from a chalice.

6. The Death of the Good. The least defaced of all the subjects. It represents a corpse placed upon the ground attended by two priests: in the back-ground an altar, upon which is placed a chalice: above, the hand of Providence issuing from the clouds.

These six subjects are in circular compartments, the remainder of the soffite being filled with ornamental foliage, and two angels with censers, so placed as to appear on each side of the figure of the Deity first described.

In the spandril to the right hand of the altar an angel is represented weighing in scales the good and evil actions of a soul, the body belonging to which is represented below in a supplicating posture: the enemy of mankind placing his foot upon the evil scale. The corresponding spandril, considerably defaced, exhibits the departure of the damned, who are dragged away by demons, and driven by an angel with a sword. These subjects are on the face of the wall immediately over the opening to the semicircular chancel, and consequently face the nave of the chapel.

The ribs of the vault and the architrave of the arch are painted in various patterns.

Mr. Carlos considers these paintings as belonging to the close of the twelfth century, and that they are coeval with the structure which contains them. The existence of these paintings, he observes, is not even noticed in any work relating to the history either of the county or town. It is probable that the whole had been, at some time, covered with a coat of whitewash which concealed them from observation, which may account for the omission. It is not known, he adds, to what Saint either of the chapels was dedicated; but it appears that two guilds or fraternities existed here in the fifteenth century, one of which was the fraternity of Jesus, the other that of Corpus Christi, and there was also a chapel of St. John in some part of the present church.

Mr. Kempe's Observations on the Map of the Roman Road exhibited February 2d, by Sir Henry Ellis, more especially in reference to the site of "Calleva Attrebatum."

23rd Feb. 1837. ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. communicated the following observations on the plan of the Roman Road surveyed by the gentlemen of the Military College at Sandhurst with reference to the real site of the Roman station 'Calleva Attrebatum.'

"DEAR SIR, "New Kent Road, 15th Feb. 1837.

"The exhibition to the Society of Antiquaries of the beautiful and accurate Plan of

the Roman Road between Silchester and Staines, the result of a survey undertaken by the officers studying in the senior department of the Military College at Sandhurst,[a] presents so fair an opportunity of offering a few observations on the opinion of Horsley, of Silchester being the ancient *Calleva Attrebatum*, that I venture to invite the attention of the Roman Antiquary to the subject. Until the publication of his lucid commentary on the Roman Itineraries of Britain, Silchester, on the authority of Camden, had been considered the ancient *Vindonum*, or *Vindomis;* and that station, the capital of a colony, settled in Britain before its invasion by Cæsar, bearing the name of *Segontiaci*, who surrendered to him on his second expedition.[b]

"Camden's opinion is thus expressed; after describing King's Clere and Odiam in Hampshire, he proceeds:—

"'Superiùs inter hos Segontiacos ad Septentrionalem agri limitem, locum habuit olim Segontiacorum Civitas, *Vindonum*, quæ, suo nomine exuto, gentis induit; ut Lutetia Parisiorum suorum nomen sibi assumpsit. *Caer Segonte* enim a Britannis vocabatur, id est *Segontiacorum civitas*, sic enim Nennius in urbium catalogo dixit, nos hodiè *Silecester* vocitamus.[c]'

"I quote the above portion of Camden's remarks in relation to the place at length, more particularly as I wish the orthography which he adopts for the name—*Sile*-chester—should be observed.

"Horsley saw reason to differ from Camden in assigning the locality of *Vindonum*, and placed it at Farnham (whether rightly or not is not the particular object of these remarks); Calleva at Silchester. Mention of this station, *Calleva Attrebatum*, occurs in no less than five of the Iters of Antoninus; and, by referring to the seventh of the Itinerary, we shall fall into the line of road from which, I think, the survey of the gentlemen of Sandhurst College does not deviate.

"I recapitulate the stages of this Iter, following Horsley's appropriations for them, on the modern map.

"A Regno Londinium—from Chichester to London—96 miles; Clausentum [Old Southampton] 20 miles; Ventam Belgarum [Winchester] 10 miles; Callevam Attrebatum [Silchester] 22 miles; Pontes [Old Windsor] 22 miles; Londinium [London] 22 miles. The survey laid before the Society has effected a material correction of Horsley; for it shews that the station *Pontes*, which he places at Old Windsor, and for which so many different places have been assigned by the learned in Roman topography, must have been where the Roman road from London crossed the Thames at Staines. From Pontes the Roman agger pursues its course through various now unfrequented localities, noted in the interesting Report of the survey, to the east gate of the station at Silchester,

[a] See United Service Journal, Jan. 1836.

[b] Cæs. Comment. lib. v. cap. vii.

[c] Camd. Britann. in Belgis. Edit. princeps, p. 156.

passing in its course through the demesne of the Duke of Wellington; where it gives name to the two adjacent parochial districts, *Strat-field* Say and *Strat-field* Turges; but the line of road presents no place for the chief city of the Attrebates until it arrives at the walls of Silchester. Is this, then, really the *Calleva* Attrebatum? The distance between Pontes and Calleva, according to the Itinerary, is 22 miles; by the Survey, the distance between Staines and Silchester is 26; a conformity as near as can be required, for neither the length of the Roman mile, nor the mode of measuring it, agreed precisely with ours.

"Five times, I have said, is Calleva mentioned in the Itinerary as traversed by the Roman line of march from various directions; not less than four Roman roads are traceable from it at this day: but the strongest proof that it was really the ancient Calleva may, after all, be found in the circumstance that some traces of its former name are preserved in the present. Like many other ancient cities of Britain, Silchester was known by various appellations. We shall see if any of these had an identity of origin. Nennius, in his Catalogue of British Cities, calls it *Caer Segont;* perhaps merely with reference to the inhabitants of the district in which it was placed. This distinction was probably merged in the Itinerary, in its connexion with the more important province of the Attrebates, on whose confines it immediately stood. Nennius tells us it was also called *Murimintum;* an appellation which we must consider had allusion to its *wall,* which, even to this day, is so strikingly characteristic of its site. The term Galleva, or Calleva, of the Roman Itineraries, appears to have had the same source, and was but a softened form of the British *Gual Vawr*, or the *Great Wall;* both names had their root, perhaps, in the Greek χάλιξ (silex), whence also the French *Caillon* (a pebble). *Sile*-chester or Silchester is therefore but a *Saxonizing,* to use the term, of Silicis Castrum, the fortress of the Flint or Wall, by the easy metonymy which I have shewn. The Greek lexicographer[d] says, that χάλικες are the small stones of which buildings are constructed, "ut sunt silices," "et cementa," and cites Thucydides for authority, ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πήλος ἦν.

"Nennius ascribes the foundation of Silchester to Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great. Whatever improvements he might have made in its buildings or defences, I cannot but think it had a much earlier origin: as the chief fastness or forest stronghold of the Segontiaci, it probably existed at the time of Cæsar's expedition into Britain. The anonymous geographer of Ravenna gives it a name which I have not yet noticed, *Ard-oneon;* this is a pure *British* compound, and may be read *Ardal Onion,* the region of Einion or Onion. Now it happens, by the circumstantial tenacity of tradition, that an arch or cavern in the massive walls of Silchester is called to this day

[d] Scapula in voce χάλιξ.

Onion's Hole, and Camden bears testimony that, in his time, the numerous coins found within its limits were called *Onion's* pennies.

"'Onioni denarii quem Gigantem fuisse et hanc urbem incoluisse somniant.'

"These coins are chiefly, I believe, of the *lower empire*, and attest the large population of the place at that period. I cannot, however, with the venerable and judicious Camden, esteem the tradition concerning the Giant Onion altogether as a dream; doubtless he was some great chieftain of the Segontian weald; the lord of Silchester before its *siliceous* rampire was raised, when its defences were constructed of earth and the felled trees of the surrounding woods. The form of the station shews that its original ground-plot was not Roman. See the plan of Silchester annexed. Einion may, therefore, be compared to one of those beings of primeval times whom the Scripture terms *Giants;* a race of more bodily power than man possesses in his civilised condition; for in savage life the corporeal energies are more fully developed: to which we may add, that the hardihood, temperance, and exercise, which must be practised in a life so destitute of luxurious indulgence, induce, of necessity, no small degree of natural prowess. Thus personal strength was, in the heroic ages, a highly honourable quality.

"The inscription found at Silchester in 1732, by which one Tammonius dedicated an altar to the Segontian Hercules, has confirmed the account of Nennius that it was the city of that tribe; it runs to this effect:—

"'Deo Herculi Sægontiacorum, Titus Tammonius, Sænii Tammonii Vitalis filius, ob honorem

"Another, discovered at the place about the same period, shows, however, that it might claim a much earlier period of occupation by the Romans than that assigned by the above writer. This last inscription was in compliment to Julia Domna, as patroness of the Roman army and senate. She was a Syrian by birth, and second wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus.

"'Juliæ Augustæ Matri Senatus et Castrorum, M: Sabinus Victor*inus* ob *honorem posuit*."[e]

"When I visited Silchester, some thirty years since, I saw at the farm house, just within the eastern gate, a gold coin of Domitian in the highest preservation; a bronze key ring, and other relics of the Roman age. In the yard lay some fragments of stone columns of considerable size. With these articles may be enumerated some Penates of bronze, and the gold ring described in the eighth volume of the Archæologia, p. 449, bearing these letters:—SE | NI | CIA | NE | VI | VA | S | II | NDE. Of this, by comparison with a ring (an impression of which has been shewn me by my friend Mr. Nichols), found at Brancaster, Norfolk, I am able to correct a former suggestion[f]

[e] The words in italics are supplied.

[f] Gent. Mag. Feb. 1833, p. 124.

of mine, and to read, I believe, the inscription rightly. The relic was, I consider, a sort of *annulus Amicitiæ*, the gift of some Christian of the Roman times to his friend *Senecianus;* the legend a pious aspiration—"Seneciane, vivas in Deo." In the ring was set an antique intaglio of *Venus Urania:* this addition was merely ornamental.

"In no spot in Britain exists more striking evidence of the devastation effected by the northern barbarians on the Romano-British colonies, than in the deserted area once occupied by the Segontian city. The site is left as bare and houseless as Anderida, which the fierce Ella rased to the ground in the fifth century; about which time Silchester probably underwent the same fate. The tradition of the neighbouring cottagers is, that it was destroyed by wild-fire, attached by the besiegers to the *tails of sparrows;* a figure, perhaps, truly recording the main catastrophe, and the fact that it underwent an assault by *igneous missiles:* a deep mystery, however, pervades the story of the rise and fall of Silchester.

"The stupendous walls of Silchester, chiefly built of flint pebbles, have alone, of all its buildings, defied the exterminating ruin, and remain to this hour silent witnesses of the city's ancient grandeur. The soil accumulated on their surface nourishes many lofty forest oaks, singular and interesting appendages of the indestructible flinty rampire.

"It may be recollected that in 1833 the remains of some magnificent baths were discovered at Silchester. Of this circumstance I sent at the time some account to the Gentleman's Magazine[g]; to which communication incidental reference has occasionally, in the course of these notes, been made. From the same source I beg to detail one remarkable fact:—The baths at Silchester bore a corresponding similarity of arrangement with that of the ancient baths in the island of Lipari, so interestingly described in the Archæologia by Captain Smyth.[h] 'In the *natatio*, or cold-water bath at Silchester, was found a *human skeleton*, and in the leaden pipe connected with the bath upwards of 200 Roman coins of brass.'

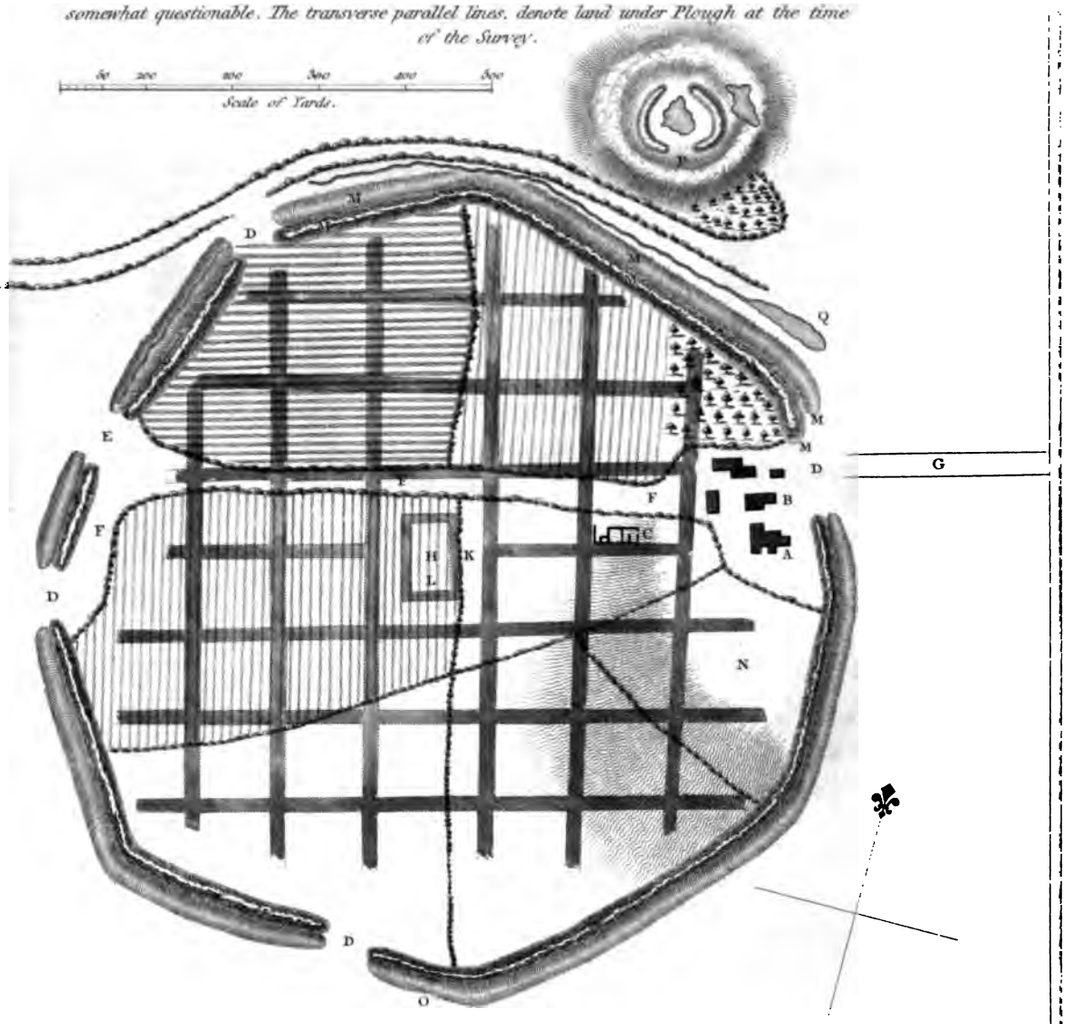
"The tessellated floors of the Silcestrian Thermæ were thickly strewed with wood ashes, and the fragments of tiles that had formed the roof; appearances which I have noted in almost all remains of Roman edifices or villas discovered in Britain. I need not remind the antiquary how frequently *charred corn* is found in Roman buildings. These circumstances clearly indicate the destruction of public and private dwellings, granaries, &c. by violence and fire.

"In the absence of an actual survey of the remaining vestiges of Silchester, and of the roads and earthworks in its neighbourhood, (an undertaking, I conceive, by no means unworthy, at some favourable period, of the attention of the Society of Antiquaries), I beg to illustrate these notes with a plan of its amphitheatre, its walls, and the course of

[g] Gent. Mag. Feb. 1833. [h] Archæol. vol. xxii. p. 98.

A Sketch for compiling a Ground Plan of Silchester in Hampshire, chiefly founded on actual surveys made about the year 1745, and preserved in the King's Library at the British Museum.

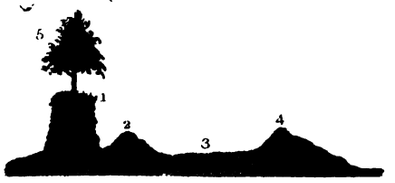
The cross-lines indicate the course of the ancient Streets. They are inserted on the authority of the Plan of Mr. John Wright: but that they could be traced with so much regularity, in 1745, appears somewhat questionable. The transverse parallel lines, denote land under Plough at the time of the Survey.



References. A. *The Church.* B. *The Farm House and Yard.* C. *The Baths, discovered 1833.* DDDD *The four original Gates of the City.* E. *A modern breach in the Walls.* FFF. *The Road leading from the Village of Silchester to the Church.* G. *Part of the Road leading from Staines, (Pontes) to Silchester, (Calleva Attrebatum) of which a Survey was made in 1836, by the Gentlemen of Sandhurst College.* H. *The Forum.* K. *The Site of a Temple.* L. *The Inscription to Hercules was found on this spot.* M.M. *Wall, and portion of it fallen into the Foss.* N. *A spot where so much Coin has been found, that it obtained the name of Silver Hill.* O. *The Chasm in the Wall, called Onions Hole, from the tradition that one Onion, a Giant, inhabited the City.* P. *The Amphitheatre of the Station, diameter 60 yards, the Arena, at the time of the Survey, was converted into a Pond.* Q. *A Rivulet in the Foss.*



Found circ. 1734.



Sectional Sketch of the Walls, &c.

1. *The lower portion of the Wall.* 2. *The upper portion, fallen into the Foss.* 3. *The Foss.* 4. *The outer Vallum.* 5. *One of the Oaks growing on the Walls.*



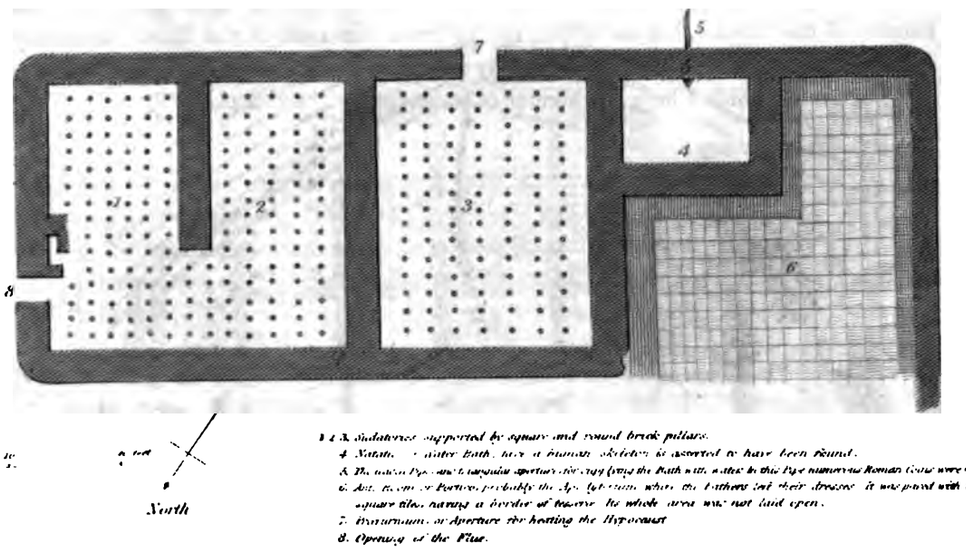
Found circ. 1742.

The first Inscription is to the Hercules of the Segontiaci, which proves the identity of Silchester with the Caer Segont *of British writers. The second Inscription is in honour of Julia Domna, a Syrian by birth, 2nd wife of the Emperor Severus. She was the Mother of Caracalla and Geta, and died circ. A.D. 217. She is styled among other titles on Medals: Mater Augg. Mater Sen. Mater Castrorum. The two last titles, as on the inscribed tablet. This Relic, shews, that Silchester, may claim a much earlier origin than the period of Constantine.*

J. Basire, sculp.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25th April 1833.

its streets; derived from some inedited materials in the King's Library at the British Museum (Plate XXXII.); and with another of the baths discovered



in 1833, politely communicated to me at the time by the Rev. Mr. Coles, the incumbent of the parish. I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours, ALFRED J. KEMPE."

Onyx inserted in the Cover of a Manuscript at the Abbey of St. Maximin.

2nd March, 1837. Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE presented to the Society a Drawing of an ancient Onyx inserted in the cover of a MS. of the Gospels preserved at the Abbey of St. Maximin near Trèves, accompanied by the following Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen.

"MY LORD,

"Amongst the relics of antiquity which even yet abound upon the Continent, few are more interesting than those, which, without much impropriety, we may call the remains of the Carlovingian collections. By these, I mean objects of classical antiquity, principally gems, which, having come into the possession of the Emperor of the West, or of his immediate successors, were bestowed upon various religious foundations, as tokens of respect and honour. Their value, considered as works of art merely, is very unequal. Some are of good, if not of the best period of Grecian skill, others in the uncouth taste of the Byzantine empire; but all are of high importance in the history of mediæval civilisation. For, by familiarising the Frank and the Lombard with the

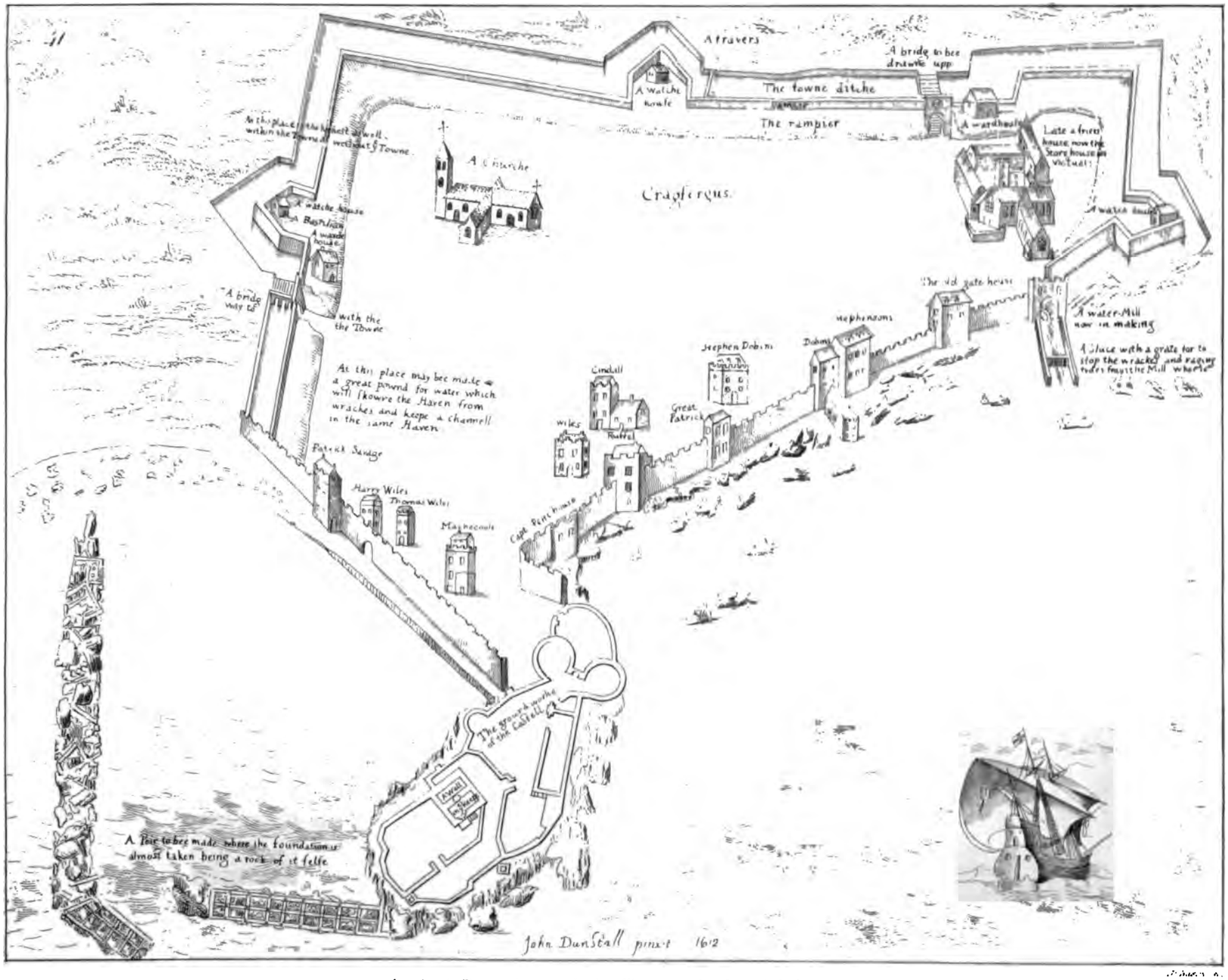
outward forms and aspect of Roman society, they contributed, scarcely less than the study of Roman literature, to keep up that moral connexion with the Eternal City which exhibits the various states of Europe, not as new fabrics raised upon the ruins of the empire of the Cæsars, but as scions, sprung from the root of the fourth monarchy, from whence they first derived their vitality and their political existence.

"The sketch which I have the honour of transmitting to the Society



represents a fine monument of this class, hitherto inedited. It is an Onyx, inserted in the cover of a MS. of the Gospels, presented either by Charlemagne or by his sister Ada, to the abbey of St. Maximin near Trèves. The volume is now preserved in the Public Library of the University of that city.

"The drawing, which is very accurate, renders any description unnecessary, and, as there is no inscription, it must be left to the classical Antiquary to conjecture the name of the imperial family represented upon the gem. At Trèves, we heard it generally referred to the members of the family of Augustus. This is merely a conjecture; but the style of the workmanship will scarcely permit us to place it lower than the age of the Antonines. I have the honour to remain, &c. FRANCIS PALGRAVE."



Ancient Drawing of the Town of Carrickfergus.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 25th 1838

Ancient Drawing of the Town of Carrickfergus.

9th March, 1837. Sir HENRY ELLIS exhibited to the Society an accurate copy of an ancient drawing of the town of Carrickfergus in Ireland, made in 1612. (See Plate XXXIII.) The original of which is preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum.

Specimen of Ancient Damask or Diaper Linen.

March 9th, 1837. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited a specimen of Ancient Damask or Diaper Linen, supposed to be a Hand-Towel of the time of Henry VIII.; accompanying it with the following remarks in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis.

"By favour of the owner, Mrs. Colchester, I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society a very beautiful specimen of ancient Linen, which displays at once the extreme fineness of texture, the perfection of the art of weaving in damask-work, and the elegance of the patterns employed, which prevailed in that manufacture more than three centuries ago.

"The article is a napkin, or 'hand-towell,' probably of Flemish or French manufacture, though unquestionably made for the use of the royal court of England. In the volume of Regulations of the Royal Household (published by the Society in 1790) 'the cloth of raynes' is frequently mentioned, from the time of King Edward IV. downwards, and at the christening of a Prince or Princess, in the time of Henry VII. the Serjeant of the Pantry attended with a golden salt-cellar, 'with a towel of raynes about his neck.' This, it may be presumed, was linen which took its name from Rheims in Champagne. Subsequently, in Henry the Eighth's Ordinances made at Eltham, we find the several articles of table linen, made of 'fine Diaper in Damascue worke,'[a] divided into the several classes of 'great pieces,' long breakfast cloths, short ones of 3 yards the piece, hand towels, and napkins. It appears probable that the present relic would most correctly be classed as a hand-towel.

"It is 46 inches long by 30 inches wide. The interior field of the pattern is 31 inches

[a] The term *Damask* is said to have been first applied by the manufacturers of Flanders to those linens which they figured in imitation of the silks originally made at Damascus in Syria. A very similar effect was produced, by a well-known and still practised process, on the blades of swords and other weapons of steel; and is distinguished by a similar name. What the older *Diaper* work was—a small regular pattern—we may gather from its appearance as borrowed in heraldry, where it was applied to ornament the fields or ordinaries, without interfering with their stated colours or charges. It is also frequently seen covering the backgrounds of old pictures and illuminations, as in the portrait of Richard the Second in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

high by 21, and is occupied by the Royal Arms, as borne by the House of Tudor. The shield, of France and England quarterly, is of the correct heraldic form, surrounded by the Garter, and supported on the dexter side by the Tudor dragon and on the sinister by the collared greyhound derived from the honour of Richmond. The shield is represented as suspended by a strap and buckle from a royal helmet, which is surmounted by a crown. Both the latter are drawn on a large scale in proportion to the shield, occupying together the depth of 12 inches. The crown is surrounded by alternate crosses and fleurs de lis, and has open arches surmounted by a cross. The area above the heads of the supporters is filled with mantling, flowing from the helmet. The motto on the Garter is inscribed,

(HONY . SOIT . QVI . MAL . Y . PENCE .)

in Roman capitals such as were usual in the time of Henry VIII. There is no motto below the shield; nor any roses or other badge; but some natural (not heraldic) flowers, as columbines, heartsease, &c. are represented as growing from the ground on which the royal atchievement is placed.

"Below the principal compartment are two borders.

"The first is 3 inches wide; composed of foliage, a winged cherub's head in the centre, and at each end a winged boy kneeling on one knee. The second border is 4½ inches wide, and is composed of closer arabesques, among which occurs in the centre a man spearing a stag, at one end a huntsman blowing his horn, and a dog, and at the other a boar; and in the intermediate spaces two sculls in circular frames. The latter border is also repeated at the top of the napkin.

"At the extreme top and foot is a small chequy pattern.

"The sides of the napkin are ornamented with arabesque pillars, at the foot of which are cherubs' heads, and at the top of each a naked human figure with long hair.

"I have been thus particular in describing the patterns of the damask, because all the portions will be fully satisfactory to those acquainted with the ornaments of the Tudor period, that the whole workmanship is coeval and concordant in style, and that whether we look to the forms of the heraldic animals, the helmet, the crown, the letters, or the ornaments, every point confirms the opinion that this is a genuine relic of that age, and not an imitation. I may here mention that the traditional account of the napkin is, that it was made for the Coronation of Henry VII.; but Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A. one of the most competent judges on matters of this sort, informs me that the arabesque pillars at the sides are not of an earlier period than the reign of Henry VIII.

"The texture is remarkably fine; yet the perfect preservation of the cloth is perhaps its most striking particular. Having been occasionally washed, it is now as white as when first bleached; and one small hole only, which is mended with the utmost delicacy, can be detected. It is now the property of Mrs. Colchester, the wife of a mer-

chant of London, to whom it came on the death of her aunt, a very old lady, who died about the year 1770. It was kept, when in the possession of the latter, with some other linen said to have been of a similar texture, and called *King's Linen.* This lady was descended from the family of Sparrowe of Ipswich, of whom it is said in Clarke's History of that town, that they 'seem to have been more intimately connected with the corporation of Ipswich than any family on record; and for centuries resided in the parish of St. Lawrence.' The name of Mr. Bailiff Sparrowe occurs in the year 1540, and a gentleman of the same name was Town Clerk when Mr. Clarke's book was printed in 1830. In the 17th century we are further told the head of the family 'built the great house in Thurlston, which is still called the Sparrows' Nest;' and over the family vault in St. Lawrence's church is the same appellation inscribed in Latin, NIDUS PASSERUM.

"A very curious mansion is still standing in the Buttermarket at Ipswich, which is said to have been built by Mr. Robert Sparrowe in the year 1567: but its present exterior is of the period of Charles the First, being highly ornamented in plaster with basreliefs of the Four Quarters of the World, the Royal Arms of the Stuart family, and other devices. A view of this house is given in Mr. Clarke's History, and another in the 'Excursions through Suffolk.' Nothing is more common in old mansions than to find the royal arms placed in some conspicuous situation; and probably not only in those which were erected by persons that held office under the Crown, but in those of every loyal subject who had acquired opulence and distinction. But this practice did not extend to furniture or household stuff; and there can be no question that the present piece of 'naperie' was made for Royal use. Beyond the circumstance that the Sparrows were the leading family at Ipswich, there appears nothing to account for their having been possessed of the stock of 'King's Linen.' If, however, we look for other households at Ipswich from which it may have passed into theirs, we find at the period in question that the Duke of Suffolk, King Henry's brother-in-law, and Sir Anthony Wingfield his Vice-Chamberlain, both had houses there, and at the same æra it was the place selected by Cardinal Wolsey for the seat of one of his Colleges. There seems nothing more probable than its transfer from the 'naperie chestes' of the Brandons or the Wingfields to the Sparrows' Nest; nor is it unlikely that this very napkin was used in the service of Queen Elizabeth when her Virgin Majesty visited Ipswich in the year 1561."

Representation of the Siege of Therouenne in France, A. D. 1553.

8th June 1837. Sir HENRY ELLIS exhibited to the Society a fac-simile of a drawing preserved among others in the collection of MSS. now in the British Museum, which formerly belonged to Sir Robert Cotton; evidently made by an Engineer, and representing the Siege of Therouenne in France, in 1553, with the positions of all the besieging parties. (Plate XXXIV.)

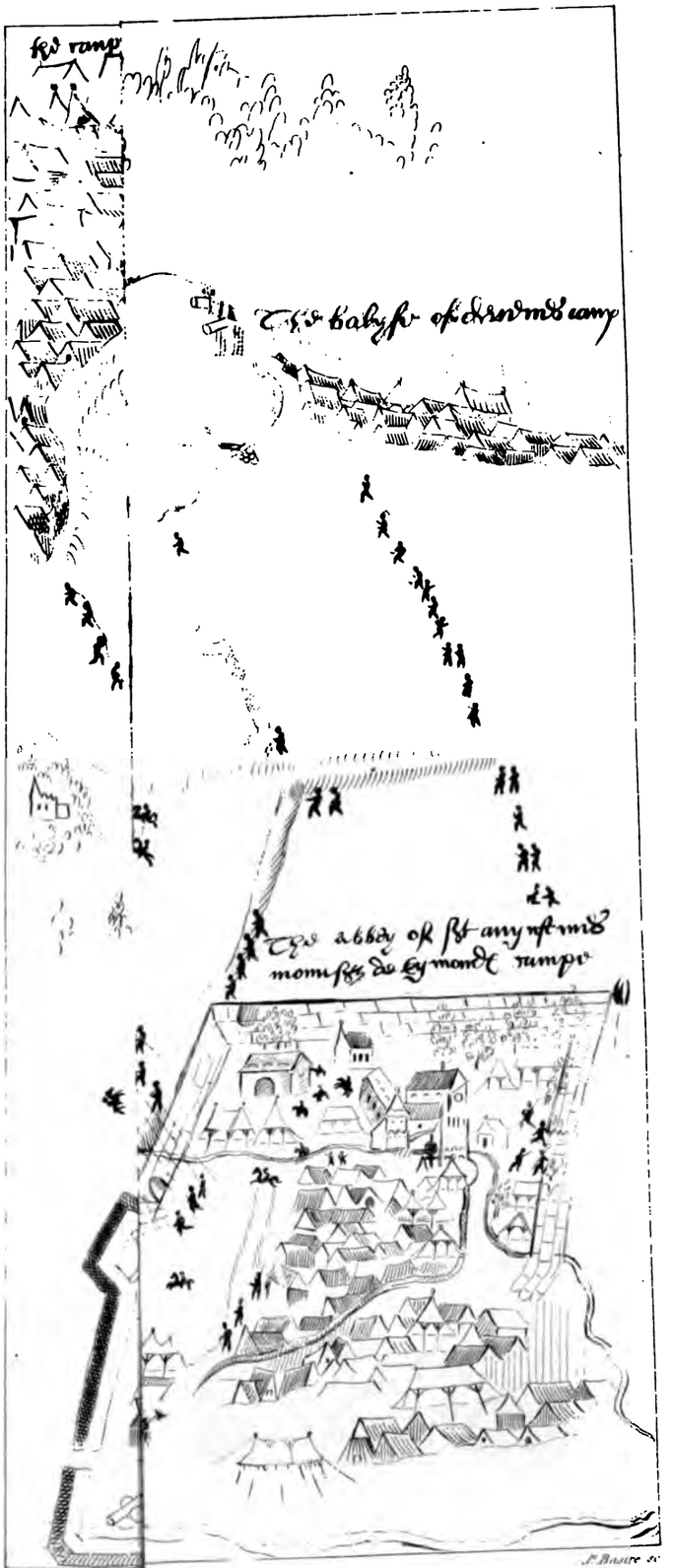
The siege commenced on the 13th of April in that year: the city was surrendered on Tuesday the 20th June. Historians say its inhabitants were numerous; they differ in their detail of numbers from twelve to twenty thousand. Charles the Fifth, that it might never again fall into the hands of the French, ordered it immediately to be erased from the cities of the world. The Seigneur de Vitry superintended its demolition, which was effected, partly by the gendarmerie of St. Omer, and partly by labourers hired from the neighbouring villages. The work of destruction occupied fifteen days. The site of this city is still surrounded by a fosse, in one or two parts very deep. The outline of the cathedral is traceable upon the spot designated in the drawing; but the demolition of the place was complete; not one single stone remains upon another either within or without the area; though the ground plot is perfect, and distinct to the visitor.

Sir Henry Ellis, in a short excursion for the purpose of examining the different towns formerly possessed by the English in Picardy and its neighbourhood, in 1833, visited Therouenne. In the time of Henry the Eighth it was considered a place of so great strength that Francis the First was used to say, that Therouenne, and Acq in Provence, were two pillows on which the King of France could sleep in peace. His successor, it was observed, should have watched this guarantee of his repose with greater care.

In later times, and in the improved condition of artillery and military architecture, it is probable that Therouenne would not have been considered a place of such impregnable strength. It was in fact, though a city, not larger than the present town of Ardres, near Calais.

Portrait of Anthony Bastard of Burgundy.

15th June 1837. The following Letter was read from J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq. F.S.A. addressed to Sir Henry Ellis, descriptive of an ancient portrait of Anthony Bastard of Burgundy.


the ramp
The Babyle of Edwards camp
The abbey of St anynst mis
mons de Eymondt rumpe

" My dear Sir, Brompton Crescent, June 6, 1837.

" Her Grace the Duchess Countess of Sutherland having lately done me the honour to consult me respecting a picture she has purchased purporting to be a contemporaneous portrait of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, I recognised in the fourth vol. of Montfaucon's Monarchie Française, plate 23, p. 142, an engraving which corresponded with it, and which is therein stated to be copied from a drawing in the portfolio of Mons. de Gagnieres in the Royal Library at Paris, and to represent not Charles the Bold, but his illegitimate brother, the celebrated Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy: a statement which is confirmed by the interesting fact, that the badge and war-cry of Anthony, as they appear on a medal in the collection of Monsieur Moreau de Mautour, engraved in the same plate in Montfaucon, are painted at the back of the portrait in her Grace's possession; the badge being what Montfaucon describes, 'une espece de Pavillon,' surrounded by flames, and the war-cry or motto, 'Nul ne si frote.' This discovery induced me to request a friend in Paris to send me a sketch of the drawing in the Royal Library with any information he could find concerning it. The sketch proved incontrovertibly that the drawing of Mons. de Gagnieres must have been copied from the picture now in Hamilton Place, or from some fac-simile of it, as it contains the left arm and hand, reposing on something like the sill of a window, which do not appear in the engraving in Montfaucon, the head and shoulders only being there given. But my friend could meet with no account of the original picture, or information as to the artist who painted it, or the collection in which it was at the time Mons. de Gagnieres copied it. A Polish nobleman now in this country has informed her Grace that he well remembers the picture having formerly belonged to Count Joseph Sierakowski of Warsaw; by whom it was always designated as the portrait of Charles the Bold; but there its history terminates. Some curious points, however, about the picture itself, will, I think, be considered worthy of the attention of the Society, and may contribute to throw some light upon the period at which it was painted, and the history of the person represented. In the first place the badge at the back of the picture, and of which a drawing has been kindly made by her Grace, is in itself a subject for speculation.

" Montfaucon, I have already observed, calls it 'une espece de Pavillon,' which may be translated either 'a tent,' or 'a flag,' and in the medal he has made it look like the latter; but in his Latin text he uses the word 'Pannus,' which is simply 'a cloth.' It is evident, therefore, that he was himself ignorant of what it was really meant to represent, and no reliance can be placed upon the engraving, as many of the plates in his work are wofully incorrect. On the back of the picture in Hamilton Place the figure has the appearance of being composed of planks of wood, with fire coming through the centre. Oliver de la Marche says, that at the siege of Oudenarde, A.D. 1452, 'Antoine portoit pour enseigne un grand etendart blanc a une *barbacane* de bro-

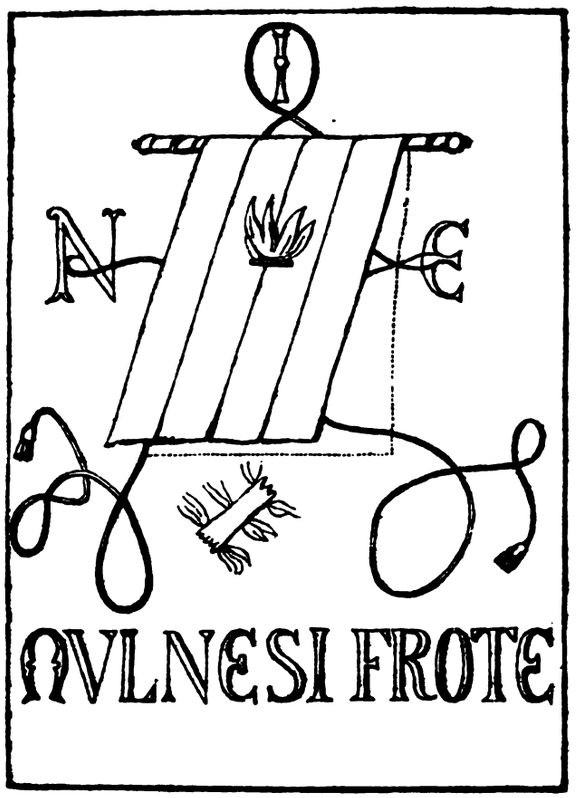
dure;[a] and at the Pas de l'Arbe d'Or, sixteen years afterwards, the same author describes him as issuing from his pavilion to oppose Messire Jehan de Luxembourg, on a horse, trapped with tawny velvet, embroidered with large 'Barbacanes,' with flames issuing out of them, and letters of his device all worked in gold thread.[b] Now 'Barbacane' is explained by Roquefort to mean not only a tower or the loop-hole of a battlement through which arrows and other missiles were discharged, but any sort of outwork, whether of wood or of masonry, 'cloison de planches,' &c.; and Cotgrave, under the same word, says, 'some hold it also to be a scutrie, scout house, or hole, and thereupon our Chaucer useth the word for a watch tower.' Whether or not this figure is intended to represent the barbacane of Oliver de la Marche with flames coming through the centre, and, according to Roquefort and Cotgrave, a scout house composed of planks of wood, under cover of which aim might be taken at, or the motions espied of, an enemy, remains to be decided. My opinion is in favour of the probability. In the Lansdowne MS. No. 285,[c] containing a detailed account of the joust in Smithfield between the Bastard and Lord Scales, the seventh horse in the train of the former at his grand entry into the lists on the first day, is described to have been 'trappid in grene velewet, powdyrd with barbacans richely made.' In another part, his word or motto, 'null' ne cy frete,' is said to have been embroidered on the green velvet valence of his tent; but no mention is made of such a badge accompanying it. The same figure as in the drawing before you is, however, to be seen upon one of the sails of a ship on the seal of Anthony's great grandson, the Lord of Wacken and Cappelle, and Vice-Admiral of the Sea, engraved in Olivarius Vredius's Genealogia Comitum Flandriæ. There can be no doubt, consequently, of its being the recognised badge of the family; and little, I repeat, in my opinion, of its being the barbican so frequently alluded to.[d] The next point of interest presents itself in the letters, which on the back of the picture are connected with the badge by the golden cords so frequently introduced on the seals, &c. of the Burgundian family. These letters are I. N. E. or N. I. E. as it may please you to read them. The most

[a] Memoires, sub anno.

[b] Ibid. sub anno 1468. "Si tost que le dit Messire Jehan de Luxembourg eut faict le tour accustomé, saillit le Chevalier de l'Arbre d'Or (i. e. the Bastard of Burgundy, who had assumed that title,) son cheval couvert de velours tauné a grand barbacanes de fil d'or en brodure, et lettres de mesmes a sa devise, et dicelles barbacanes issoyent flames de feu."

[c] See also Harleian MS. 4632, and MSS. Heralds' College, L. 5. Arundel Coll. No. 48.

[d] It is singular enough, that in the curious little volume entitled Le Mausolée de la Toisson d'Or, 8vo, Amsterdam, 1689, professing to contain the epitaphs, devices, war-cries, &c. of all the Knights of the Order, Anthony is dismissed with the bare mention of his death in 1504, aged 83, and of his burial at Tourneham.



plausible conjecture appears to be that they are the initials of the words 'Imperator Navalis Exercitûs,' which would be a literal translation into Latin of 'General de l'Armée Navale,' or Commander of the Naval Forces, a rank to which he was appointed in the year 1464, when he sailed with an expedition against the Turks; Simon de la Laine, Seigneur de Montigny, being 'Lieutenant General de Monsieur le Bastard en cette armée.'[e] Should the word 'Imperator' be objected to, I have only to observe that the Latin of the middle ages was not of the most classical description; and that, in this case, it might have been selected to distinguish this particular command from the office of 'Admiral of the Sea,' which was enjoyed by several of the Burgundian Ducal family, each of whom in his turn is designated, classically enough, Prefectus Maris.[f] The portrait, which is painted in oil upon wood, and after the style of Jan van

[e] Paradin. Olivier de la Marche. Monstrelet.

[f] Olivarius Vredius.

Eyck, the celebrated Flemish painter, (who, as you well know, was the protegé of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, father of this identical Anthony,) represents a man of an age between forty and fifty. At the time Anthony sailed on the expedition before mentioned, he was in the 44th year of his age; and, although no proof, it is a curious circumstance that Monstrelet, under the date of 1467, in the very chapter which he commences with an account of the departure of the Bastard for England, to keep his engagement with Lord Scales, remarks, that about this period a great change took place in the habits of the men as well as of the women; the former beginning to wear their hair so long that it came into their eyes, and covering their heads with cloth caps a quarter of an ell or more in height; describing, in brief, the very costume in which Anthony is represented. In the absence, therefore, of any better founded hypothesis, it may be allowable to presume that the picture now in Hamilton Place was painted between his return from Africa in 1465, and his departure for England in 1467; perhaps immediately previous to the latter, as an affectionate souvenir for the father or the wife of one who was leaving them on a perilous voyage,[g] and on whom it was but too probable they might never look in life again.

"Thus much as to the picture itself. With regard to the person it represents, his name occurs so frequently in the Chronicles of the 15th century, and always with such honourable mention, that we can easily believe it was no idle compliment to address him as 'the most renowned knight, and the most readiest and determined in accomplishing such noble works that by counsel or inquiry was known in any region.'[h] It is, therefore, rather extraordinary, that with the exceptions of a brief article in the Biographie Universelle, an incidental notice by Bayle in a note to the article Bersala, and the few lines appended to his portrait in Montfaucon, we have nothing in the shape of a memoir or detailed account of his life and actions. Connected as he is with the chivalric history of our own country, a few hints for such a memoir may not be unacceptable to English Antiquaries; and the following facts have therefore been extracted and chronologically arranged by me from the various historians and genealogists of France, Burgundy, and Flanders.

"Anthony, surnamed the Great, Bastard of Burgundy, was the son of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, by Jeanne de Prelle, daughter of Raoul, Seigneur de Lize, and Marie de Tieffry, his wife.[i] All the genealogists concur in stating him to have been born in 1421; but none of the historians that I have met with mention the date

[g] "Pour ce que nouvelles couroient (et vraye est) qu'aucuns pirates et escumeures de mer guettoient sur luy pour le ruer jus." (Monstrelet, Chronicques; see also Jacques du Clercq, Harl. MS. 4476.)

[h] Lansdowne MS. No. 285.

[i] Anselme, Histoire Genealogique de la Maison Royale de France. St. Marthe, Genealogie de la Maison Royale. Heuterus in Geneal. Nothorum Philippi Boni.

of his birth, except Jean Baptiste Maurice,[k] who says in 1412, without, however, quoting any authority for the assertion. He is first mentioned by Olivier de la Marche, under the date of 1443; and, secondly, as accompanying his father to Luxembourg in 1450. In 1452 we find him commanding the vanguard of the army sent to raise the siege of Oudenarde, beneath the walls of which town, and previous to the battle, he is said to have received knighthood from the sword of Jean de Bourgoyne, Count d'Estampes,[l] being at this period (if the date of his birth in 1421 is correct) in the 31st year of his age. It appears strange that this ceremony should have been so long delayed, especially as it has been asserted that he distinguished himself early in the wars of his father.[m] On the 14th of June in the same year, his half-brother Cornelius, the eldest illegitimate son of the Duke, was killed at the Battle of Rupelmonde, and Anthony succeeded to the lordships of Bever and Beveresse; and was, thenceforth, says Olivier de la Marche, no longer called Messire Anthoine, but Bastard of Burgundy, as Cornelius had been before him. The same year he led an expedition from Treremonde against Gand; but on arriving before the city, the rebels appeared in such force, that a panic spread through his troops, and they fell into complete disorder. Finding all his efforts to rally them vain, with only twenty lances, and the archers of his body guard, he covered the retreat to Treremonde, keeping the whole army of the insurgents at bay.[n] On the 22d of July, 1453, he was present at the decisive battle of Gaure;[o] and at the grand banquet given at Lille, on the marriage of the Duke of Cleves with Isabella of Burgundy, daughter of the Count d'Estampes, in Feb. 1454, Anthony was one of the many noble personages who made with Duke Philip a vow to God, the ladies, and the pheasant, to perform some deed of arms against the Turks who had recently taken Constantinople.[p] On the 12th of May 1456, Anthony was invested with the order of the Golden Fleece in the Great Church at the Hague.[q] In 1459, according to St. Marthe, he married Jeanne de la Vieuville, only daughter and heiress of Pierre de la Vieuville, Viscount d'Aire, and Lord of Tourneham, Nedon, and Baisel in Artois, and of his wife Isabeau de Preurre.[r] On the 3d of February, 1462, he engaged with

[k] Le Blazon des Armoiries de tous les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Thoison d'Or. Fol. La Haye, 1688.

[l] Olivier de la Marche. [m] Biographie Universelle. [n] Olivier de la Marche. [o] Ibid.

[p] Ibid. Paradin. [q] J. J. Chifflet, Insig. Gent. Eq. Ord. Vell. Aur.

[r] The order for the marriage to be performed at Brussels on the 26th day of June, and given by Duke Philip at Arras on the 12th of May, is printed by Olivarius Vredius, but without the date of the year: and Olivier de la Marche, in his account of the banquet at Lille in 1454, mentions, amongst the company present, Madame de Beveres, wife of Monsieur le Batard de Bourgoyne. As Cornelius was never married, this could not have been his widow; and therefore if Olivier de la Marche is not in error, Anthony must have been married at least as early as June 1453. It is not quite clear, however, that Anthony was not *twice* married; for Louis Gollert, in his Memoires, says, 'Antoine Sieur de Beure qui fut marié avec D. Marie fille du Sieur de Couēhen,' and as this appears to be altogether a distinct person from Jehanne de la Vieuville, such may have been the case.

Philip de Crevecœur and Peter de Vaps to fight in the lists as champions of an oppressed lady, which feat they performed at Brussels in November the same year. In 1464, Anthony was appointed commander of the naval forces sent by Duke Philip against the Turks, and on Whit-Monday, May 21st, he embarked with his brother Baldwin and two thousand men at arms at the port of Ecluse (or Sluys), in presence of his father, who gave him 100,000 crowns to defray his expenses, and invested him, at the same time, with the county of La Roche en Ardenne, and several other lordships. On his arrival in the Mediterranean he succeeded in forcing the Turks to raise the siege of Ceuta; but his troops were attacked by pestilence, and the death of Pope Pius disconcerting the plans of the crusaders, Anthony and Baldwin sailed with the remnant of their forces for Marseilles, where they landed, and leaving their ships returned by land to Flanders, where they arrived towards the end of February 1465. On the last day of April in that year he received, by the hands of Chester Herald, a letter from Anthony Wideville, Lord Scales and Nucelles, brother of Elizabeth, Queen of our Edward the Fourth, inviting him to come over to England, in the month of October following, or within a year from that date, and perform certain feats of arms on foot and on horseback, in consequence of a request previously made by the Bastard to Lord Scales to that effect, and which the latter had been for some time unable to attend to on account of the disturbed state of the kingdom. The invitation of Lord Scales was joyfully accepted by the Bastard on the 1st of May, at Brussels, in presence of Duke Philip, the Count de Charalois, and the whole court; but the breaking out of the war of the Public Weal, as it was called, and the subsequent rebellion of the Liegeois, prevented Anthony from visiting England at the first period named by Lord Scales, and we find him signalising his prowess at the battles of Montlherry and Montenacques, and at the terrible siege and sacking of Dinant, the keys of which unfortunate city were delivered to him upon its surrender.[s] On the 29th of October, 1466, a safe conduct was granted for the term of eight months following All Souls' Day, November 2nd, to the Lord Bastard of Burgundy, permitting him to bring a thousand persons, with shipping and baggage, all which the King of England would take under his protection.[t] And accordingly, in May, 1467, Anthony and his suite, to the amount of four hundred persons, embarked at Sluys on board four vessels called Caravals, richly appointed with banners, pennons, streamers, and furnished with all the pomp, paraphernalia, and munitions of war: for the Channel was at that time infested by pirates, professedly Spaniards, but really Frenchmen, who it was known were on the watch to intercept, and, if possible, capture him.[u] The attempt was made, but the pirates were beaten off with the loss of two of their vessels by the gallant Burgundians, who arrived safely off Gravesend on the 29th of May, about four in the afternoon. The highly interesting account of his

[s] Paradin. Monstrelet. [t] Rymer's Fœdera, xi. 573.

[u] Monstrelet (as already quoted in p. 428, note g). Jacques du Clercq.

reception there and in London, and of the magnificent joust in Smithfield, has been published verbatim from the cotemporary MSS. in the Lansdowne, Harleian, and Arundel Collections, in the volume entitled Excerpta Historica[x], and the errors into which nearly all the English historians have fallen on those points very clearly explained and judiciously commented upon. I shall, therefore, simply state here that the combat took place in Smithfield on Thursday, the 11th of June 1467, being the feast of St. Barnabas, and the following day; at the termination of which the champions were entertained with much magnificence in Mercers' Hall by the King and Queen, and the Lord Bastard of Burgundy in return invited the Queen and all the ladies to dine with him on the following Sunday. In the midst of the preparations for this feast, however, the news arrived of the death of Duke Philip the Good, who had expired on the 15th of June; and Anthony, in great sorrow, took leave of the King and Queen of England, and returned with all his suite immediately to Bruges.[y] The next year, 1468, on Sunday, July 9th, at five o'clock in the morning, Margaret, sister of Edward the Fourth, was married to the new Duke of Burgundy, Charles, surnamed the Bold, at the little town of Dame, between Sluys and Bruges, and the same day she made a magnificent entry into the latter place, where she dined. On this occasion Anthony held the magnificent tournament celebrated in the annals of Burgundian chivalry as the Pass of the Tree of Gold, during which he received a severe hurt on the leg from the kick of a horse as he was accompanying his old antagonist Lord Scales into the lists.[z] We next hear of him at the battle of Grandson, in 1476, where he commanded the vanguard. He was also present at the battle of Morat, and at the fatal siege of Nancy, in 1477, where he was taken prisoner, and his brother, Charles the Bold, perished.[a] Louis the Eleventh of France used every endeavour to induce René, Duke of Lorraine, to make over to him his illustrious captive; whilst Anthony, on the other hand, offered to pay any ransom rather than be placed in the power of the most implacable enemy of his house. René yielded at last to the desire of the French King, and himself conducted Anthony to Louis.[b] To the astonishment, however, of all Europe, the politic monarch had no sooner obtained possession of his gallant foe than he loaded him with wealth and honours instead of chains and indignities. On the 20th of August, 1478, Louis presented him with the counties and lordships of Grandpré, Saint Menehould, Vassy, Passavant, Chateau Thierry, and Chastillon sur Marne,[c] and contrived, by unceasing kindness, to attach him devotedly to his service. On the death of Louis, Anthony transferred his services to Charles the Eighth, who made him a knight of the order of St. Michael, and granted him letters of legitimation in 1485.[d] In February, 1487-8, when Charles was holding a lit de justice, Antoine (accidentally, it would appear,) seated himself on the bench

[x] 8vo. London, Bentley, 1833.
[y] Olivier de la Marche.
[z] Paston Letters, vol. ii.
[a] Philippe de Commines.
[b] Biographie Universelle.
[c] Anselme.
[d] St. Marthe. Anselme.

appropriated to the Princes of the French Blood Royal, beside Louis d'Armagnac, Count de Guise, and Louis de Luxembourg, both kinsmen of the King. An order was given to remove him to a lower seat: but Charles, considering his great age and his high reputation, paid him the extraordinary compliment of desiring him to remain.[e] The last public service we find him employed in is in 1491, when he was one of the noblemen appointed to conduct Margaret of Burgundy ("the widow ere she was the wife" of Charles the Eighth) back to Flanders. He lived to see another king of France, Louis the Twelfth, ascend the throne; and dying in 1504, at the advanced age of eighty-three, was buried at Tourneham in Artois. So at least say Anselme, St. Marthe, and others, who have apparently followed them; but they quote no authority, either for the year of his birth or for that of his death, and therefore we are at liberty to question the exactness of the calculation. According to a MS. in the King's Library, British Museum, containing the arms of all the knights of the Golden Fleece, at the sixteenth chapter of the order, held at Brussells, January 17, 1500-1, ten knights were recorded as "trepassez," and amongst them is the name of M. Anthoine, Bastard de Bourgoigne. If this be not an error, it reduces his age to seventy-nine, or the date of his birth must be incorrectly given by St. Marthe, and we must believe Jean Baptiste Maurice, who places it in 1412, which would justify the assertion of his death in the eighty-third year of his age; but, at the same time, would make him forty before he was knighted, and fifty-five when he encountered Lord Scales, which does not appear probable. Maurice also differs from the other historians and genealogists in making Anthony the son of Marie de Tieffry instead of Jeanne de Prelle her daughter; and this appears so evident a mistake, that we may reasonably doubt him upon other points advanced without cotemporary authority. Considerable variations appear also in the blazoning of his arms. In Olivarius Vredius is an engraving of his seal, on which they are disposed bendwise on a plain shield, (in other respects the same as those of his father Philip the Good,[f]) and without the baton sinister: but supported by a lion and a griffin, with a crest of a lion's head crowned between two wings. The legend

S. ANTHONIE BASTART DE BVRGUNDIE SEIG'UR DE BEURS ϒ DE CHOQUES.

Chifflet blazons them as those of his father, "le Bon duc Philip, brisé d'un filet gauche d'argent;" crest an owl Or, which he calls by a name by which the French designate one variety of that species, "Oiseau Duc;" asserting in another part of his work that such was the crest of the ancient Dukes of Burgundy. Louis Gollut omits Brabant and quarters Flanders in lieu of placing it in an inescutcheon surtout; crest, a chouette, or screech-owl Or. The MS. in the King's Library, British Museum, exhibits the arms

[e] Jaligny, Histoire de Charles VIII. Godefroy, Ceremonies Françaises.

[f] 1st and 4th, Burgundy modern; 2nd, Burgundy ancient impaling Brabant; 3rd, Burgundy ancient impaling Luxembourg; over all an inescutcheon of Flanders.

without the filet gauche or baton sinister: but this must have arisen from the negligence of the painter; crest an owl proper; the arms surrounded by the collar of the order. Piérre Palliot, in his "Vraie et parfaite Science des Armoiries," blazons them the same as Chifflet; but with a baton *gules* instead of *argent*. Menestrier says, that after the Pass of the Tree of Gold, he bore that device for a crest;[s] but it does not appear in any engraving or painting of his arms. Palliot, quoting Scohier, says, that the illegitimate sons of John Duke of Burgundy, father of Philip the Good, had for their crest a tree of gold, but tells us that in the choir of the Sainct Chappelle du Roi, at Dijon, the arms of Anthony are surmounted by an owl *proper*, beaked and membered or.

"In a note to the account of the tournament in Smithfield, published in the Excerpta Historica, the writer remarks, that "the full title of the Bastard is thus given among witnesses to a charter in Oliv. Vredii Sigilla et Inscript. Com. Flandriæ," and he transcribes it thus:—"Heere Anthuenis Bastaert van Bourgoingnen; Grave van Biche in Ardenne; de Grave van Nassau, eerste Camerlinck; de Heeren van Beveren, van Walhain, van Polhain, ende van Wolkestain.' I need scarcely point out to you that of all these titles the only one pertaining to the Bastard is that of Grave or Count van *Biche* (evidently a misprint for *Roche*) in Ardenne, the rest being those of the other witnesses, the Count of Nassau, *First or High Chamberlain*, the *Lords* of Beveren, Walhain, Polhain, and Wolkestain, to which is added the Lord Peter Lanckhals, Hofmeister, or steward of the household, &c. &c. Anthony's usual style was "Bastard of Burgundy, Lord of Bever and Beveresse, and Count de la Roche in Ardenne;" but his full title would run thus:—Anthony Bastard of Burgundy, Count de la Roche in Ardenne, Count de Grandpré, St. Menehould, Chateau Thierry, and Chastillon sur Marne, Lord of Bever and Beveresse, of Chocques and Tourneham in Artois, Vassy and Passavant, knight of the order of St. Michael and of the Golden Fleece. By his wife Jeanne de Vieuville, he had Philip, who succeeded him as Lord of Bever, and married Anne de Borselle, heiress of Vere and Flessingue; Joanna, who married Gaspar de Culembourg, Lord of Hooghstraaten; and other children, who died either unmarried or without issue. He left also one illegitimate son, named after himself Anthony, who was Lord of Capelle, and married Clara, daughter and heiress of Andrew, Lord of Wacken. Such, my dear Sir, are the principal facts I have been able to collect respecting this celebrated individual, whose name is connected with almost every chivalric enterprise in Europe for at least half of the fifteenth century; who was courted and honoured by the most distinguished monarchs and nobles of his time; and yet (so capricious is history), for the scanty notice of whom, now laid before the Society, it has been a work of some labour to collect the materials.

"I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly, J. R. Planché."

[s] Origine des Armoiries et du Blazon, p. 96.

Roman Antiquities found at Hemel Hempsted.

16th Nov. 1837. The Rev. J. F. Gibton, Minister of the Independent Chapel at Box Lane, Hemel Hempsted, in the county of Hertford, in a letter to Thomas Coates, Esq. dated from that place Sept. 8, 1837, gave the following particulars of the finding of some Roman Antiquities.

It appears that a portion of the Burial-ground attached to Box Lane Chapel, till the 26th August 1837, had not been brought into use for the purposes of interment since it had belonged to the present place of worship. On the following day, as the grave-digger was preparing a grave in this part, at the distance of from three to four feet below the surface, his pick or spade struck against something hollow; and finding that there was more than earth in his way, he proceeded carefully in his work; when he shortly discovered,

1. A Roman Vase of a globular form, of green glass, about fourteen inches in height, and near three feet in circumference, containing human bones, small particles of gold fringe, &c. With the exception of a small piece struck out by the pick or spade, the vessel is entire: the piece has been preserved.



2. A small Roman Pitcher, or jug, of earthen ware. It has a short narrow neck; and was broken in the taking up. It was empty.

3. A Metal Stand, supposed to have been used for a lamp.

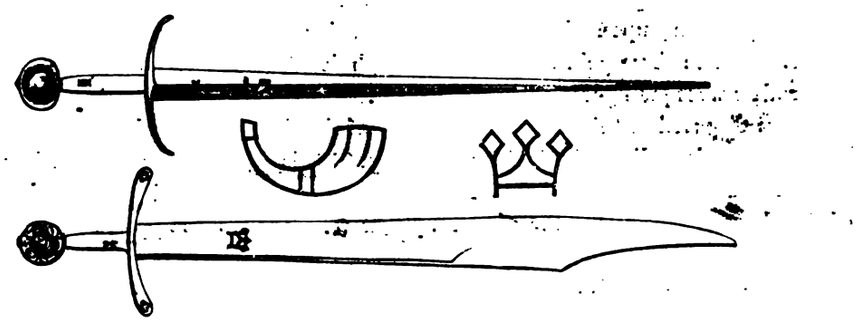
4. Various ill-shaped Nails, much incrusted. They were found lying around the articles already described.

On the 12th September, Mr. Girton directed a further search to be made, as near as possible to the spot where the discovery of the 26th August had occurred, without disturbing the recently interred corpse; when, after digging for several hours, a small portion of black ashes incorporated with chalk was thrown up, and soon after some spike-nails much incrusted. Much care was then taken by the excavators, and after a few more nails had been turned up, there was presented to view, with the mouth uppermost, a large square glass vase, with a handle slightly ornamented, the whole of a bluish green colour, filled with human bones. It was taken out with great care. This discovery was made at four feet distance from the former, and four feet and a half below the surface of the ground. A further search was subsequently made, but nothing more discovered.

Mr. Girton accompanied this communication with a neat pencil drawing of the three vessels as well as of the metal stand, and forms of some of the nails: together with a pencil outline of the form of the metal stand of its full size.

Ancient Swords found near Norwich.

16th Nov. 1837. Samuel Woodward, Esq. communicated the following account of two ancient Swords found in the vicinity of Norwich, in a letter addressed to Sir Henry Ellis:



"DEAR SIR, Norwich, April 14, 1837.

"As so few original figures of the offensive weapons of our ancestors exist, and references being of necessity made for them to MSS. and Seals, permit me to submit to you, for the purpose of laying before the Society of Antiquaries, reduced sketches of two antique Swords found in the vicinity of Norwich.

"The first is a two-edged sword, 36½ inches in its entire length, weighing 2 lbs. 5 oz. having a very large pommel. It was found in the meadows at Lakenham mill, one mile south of our city. It is in an excellent state of conservation, excepting that its edges are serrated, rather, I should say, from action than decomposition. The guard is somewhat decomposed, and is tinged with the blue phosphate of iron, arising from the decomposition of animal matter, which was corroborated by the fact that remains of a human skeleton was found lying near it. From the limited means of reference I possess, I have assigned it to the time of Richard the Second;[a] and if I am correct in thus assigning it, it most probably belonged to one of the Knights who assisted in defending the city against Lilster, the dyer, in 1381,[b] who laid siege to Norwich, and was subsequently put down by the valorous conduct of its Bishop, Henry le Despencer.

"The bugle and small cross on the blade are inlayings in red gold; the former may probably throw some light on the subject of its original possessor; the bugle also occurs on the opposite side of the blade. There is a forge mark on the grip which resembles a mill-rind.

"It appears to me, from the weight of the lower part of this weapon, that it is of the same kind as one figured in Strutt's Horda; the large pommel being intended to give additional impetus to it, when brought obliquely down from guard to point. There are figures of similar weapons in the same work, under the head of Sword-play.

"The other sword or scymitar was exhibited to the Society in 1833; but I thought I could not do better than by exhibiting them in juxta-position. It was found in dredging our river at Thorpe, preparatory to its being made navigable for sea-borne vessels. It weighs only two pounds, in consequence of its blade being in such an advanced state of decomposition; upon which, as on the other, is an inlaying of red gold in the form of a crown with three point. Its entire length is 39 inches. The pommel is of brass, with rude arabesque figures engraved upon it.

"I am disposed to think this last sword is of the time of Edward the First, as in Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 814, is figured a similar faulchion, which is presented to the Bishop of Durham, when he first enters into the diocese, by the lord of Sockburn,[c] who holds the manor by that tenure. It also appears from Strutt and

[a] Vide Harleian MS. 1319, and a seal of Thomas Earl Marshal, dated Westminster 19 October, 13 Ric. II.

[b] Vide Blomefield's Norwich, 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 105.

[c] Vide Camden in loco.

Meyrick that scymitars were introduced as regular military weapons in the reigns of the first and second Edwards. There is no clue, however, in our local histories whereby we might assign a period to its being lost in our river; unless it was in the year 1277, when King Edward, according to Stowe, made a military progress through Suffolk and Norfolk, and kept his Easter at Norwich.

"I am, dear Sir, yours most respectfully,

"SAMUEL WOODWARD."

La Chapelle de Notre Dame des Pas.

1st March 1838. Sir TOMKINS HILGROVE TURNER, K.C., G.C.H. presented to the Society the drawing of a destroyed Chapel in the Island of Jersey, accompanied by the following observations:

"On the east side of Fort Regent, about midway on the long and broad glacis, stood the ancient Chapelle de Notre Dame des Pas.



Its flat buttresses, its lancet windows with semicircular heads, of which there were two on the south side and one to the north, its arched roof of rubble, and general construction, prove it an edifice probably of the twelfth century. The Board of Ordnance having deemed it advisable to remove it in the year 1814, Sir William Gosset, then Chief Engineer, and Sir Hilgrove Turner, Commander of the Forces, carried the orders of the Board into effect for its destruction, by ten mines simultaneously fired, and the Chapel was was no more. In removing the rubbish, in a stone grave cut in the rock, on which was the foundation of the Chapel, was a skeleton of old date; beside it, in the grave, was a long piece of iron, too decayed to ascertain its use. The *steps* that gave the name attached to the building could not be found; but a small harbour, on which the Chapel looked down, still bears the name of Le Havre des Pas."

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ERRATA.

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376, *add the following note.* In the Plate, the drawings of the *obverse* and *reverse* are taken not from the matrix, but from wax impressions.

Read 20th April, 1837.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1836.

We the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 9th day of March 1837, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1836, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Accounts the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				273	19	5
RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1836.						
By annual Subscriptions	875	14	0			
By Admissions of Members elected . . .	218	8	0			
By dividend on stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th July 1836	195	0	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	66	7	3			
By Stamp-duty on Bonds	21	0	0			
				1376	9	3
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions . .				462	0	0
				£2112	8	8

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, 6,500*l.*

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1836.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in Expenses of Publications by the Society	954	17	7			
For Taxes	19	2	0			
For Salaries	422	15	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, for House Expenses	129	2	7			
For Insurance	22	11	0			
For Anniversary Dinner	22	9	0			
For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash	59	0	2			
For Collecting Subscriptions	42	14	6			
For Stamps for Bonds	24	0	0			
For Solicitor's Bill	22	15	8			
				1719	7	6
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1837				393	1	2
				£2112	8	8

Witness our hands this 19th day of April 1837.

(Signed) GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON.
JOHN BIDWELL.
DECIMUS BURTON.
PHILIP HUNT.

PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SON,
PARLIAMENT STREET.



Read 3rd May, 1838.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1837.

We the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 29th day of March 1838, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1837, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Accounts the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				393	1	2
RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1837.						
By annual Subscriptions	853	13	0			
By Admissions of Members elected . . .	235	4	0			
By dividend on stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th July 1837	195	0	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	75	10	4			
By Stamp-duty on Bonds	28	10	0			
				1387	17	4
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions . .				336	0	0
				£2116	18	6

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, 6,500*l.*

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1837.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in Expenses of Publications by the Society	725	14	8			
For Taxes	35	17	0			
For Salaries	447	10	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, for House Expenses . .	112	9	7			
For Insurance	22	11	0			
For Anniversary Dinner	21	13	0			
For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash .	63	8	6			
For Collecting Subscriptions	42	5	0			
For Stamps for Bonds and Receipts . . .	33	13	6			
				1505	2	3
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1838				611	16	3
				£2116	18	6

Witness our hands this 6th day of April 1838.

(Signed) GORE OUSELEY.
F. CHANTREY.
T. J. PETTIGREW.

JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS AND SON,
25, PARLIAMENT-STREET.



